THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS.

WE have received, too late for the *Quarterly Statement*, a most important packet from Herr Schumacher, a note concerning which appeared in the January and April numbers. It contains a map covering about 200 square miles of a part of the Jaulan, that little known and extremely interesting country lying east of the Lake of Galilee, formerly Gaulanitis after the hitherto undiscovered city of Golan (Josh. xxx, 8, and xxi, 27), one of the three cities of refuge in the East. It has been traversed by Burckhardt, Porter, and Welzstein, Mr. Cyril Graham, Mr. Laurence Oliphant, and Dr. Selah Merrill. Herr Schumacher, however, is the first who has surveyed any part of the country, and planned and sketched its ruins. The results of the work are very briefly summed up in the report of the Executive Committee below. He has discovered, almost beyond possibility of doubt, the Biblical Golan. He suggests a new identification for Argob. He has found a vast field containing something like 500 dolmens; he has partially planned the most curious subterranean city of Dera, and he has planned and described all the monuments and buildings in the places which he visited, including the very interesting place round which are gathered the traditions of Job. He has also given a most valuable general description of the country, and has gathered a good collection of Arabic names. It is sufficient commendation of the work to state that its places may be placed side by side with those of Captains Conder and Kitchener in the "Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine."

The Committee have decided to produce this work separately and to present a copy of it, post free, to every subscriber of the Fund who may make application for it. A form of application is enclosed. The book will be set up uniform with the cheap editions of "Heth and Moab" and "Tent Work," and will form a volume about half the size of these books. It will be issued with the October *Quarterly Statement.*

We are enabled by the courtesy of the Proprietors of the *Pictorial World* to present with this number a portrait of Sir Charles Wilson, who has now returned from Egypt.

The interest attaching to Herr Schumacher's work will be increased by the paper presented to the Society, and published in this number, by Mr. Guy le

Strange. It is an account of a short journey east of the Jordan, and of a visit to Pella, the Kalat el Rukud, which is outside the part surveyed by Captain Conder; Jerash, the Wâdy Zerka, Yajuz, and Ammân. Mr. le Strange carries with him in his Eastern travels a rare acquaintance with the works of Arabian and Persian travellers. He has undertaken to translate and to annotate for the Pilgrims' Text Society, the Travels of Mokaddasi.

The notes by Mr. Laurence Oliphant and by Herr Hanauer are curious and interesting. The Rock Altar close to the site of Zorah strongly suggests the story of Judges xiii, 19, and the altar of Manoah. It seems to be, at any rate, of extreme antiquity.

On Sunday evening, June 21st, died suddenly, at his residence in Cheyne Walk, Mr. W. S. W. Vaux, F.R.S., formerly Keeper of Coins in the British Museum, and latterly Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society. Mr. Vaux became a member of the Committee of this Society on its foundation, May 12, 1865, for the whole period of its existence he remained a member, and attended nearly every meeting of the Committee. His loss is one which will not be easily filled up.

And on Tuesday, the 23rd, died, at his residence at Penzance, another of the Society's oldest friends and supporters, A. Lloyd Fox, a member of the General Committee, and the Society's Hon. Secretary for Falmouth.

Professor Hull's work, "Mount Seir," is now ready. New editions have also been issued of "Tent Work" and "Heth and Moab" at six shillings each.

Light upon the ancient customs of Palestine has been thrown from a very unexpected quarter, namely, Russian Central Asia. Dr. Lansdell ("Russian Central Asia," Sampson Low & Co.) has discovered as far to the east of Palestine as London is to the west, and among an Iranian population, many Semitic customs described in the Sacred Books, especially those written after the Captivity. These customs may have had a common origin, or, as Dr. Lansdell suggests, they may have been taken eastwards by the Ten Tribes.

The income of the Society, from March 17th inclusive, was—from subscriptions and donations £260 9*s.* 6*d.*, from all sources £481 18*s.* 5*d.* The expenditure during the same period was £382 1*s.* 6*d.* On June 24th the balance in the Banks was £351 12*s.* 1*d.*

It is suggested to subscribers that the safest and most convenient manner of paying subscriptions is through a Bank. Many subscribers have adopted this method, which removes the danger of loss or miscarriage, and renders unnecessary the acknowledgment by official receipt and letter.

Subscribers who do not receive the *Quarterly Statement* regularly, are asked to send a note to the Secretary. Great care is taken to forward each number to all who are entitled to receive it, but changes of address and other causes give rise occasionally to omissions.

While desiring to give every publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they neither sanction nor adopt them.

The only authorised lecturers for the Society are—

(1) The Rev. Henry Geary, Vicar of St. Thomas's, Portman Square. His lectures are on the following subjects :—
The survey of Western Palestine, as illustrating Bible History.
Palestine East of the Jordan.
The Jerusalem Excavations.
A Restoration of Ancient Jerusalem. Illustrated by original photographs shown as "dissolving views."

(2) The Rev. James King, Vicar of St. Mary's, Berwick. His subjects are as follows :—
The Survey of Western Palestine.
Jerusalem.
The Hittites.
The Moabite Stone and other monuments.

(3) The Rev. James Neil, formerly Incumbent of Christ Church, Jerusalem.

(4) The Rev. George St. Clair, formerly Lecturer to the Society, is about to organise, by arrangement with the Committee, a course of lectures this winter on the work of the Society.

THE LATE MR. W. S. W. VAUX.

We have to announce the sudden death, at the age of sixty-seven, of Mr. William Sandys Wright Vaux, M.A., F.R.S., the well-known numismatist and Oriental scholar. His long connection with the British Museum, the service of which he entered in 1841, the year after his graduation as B.A. at Baliol College, Oxford, and from which he retired in 1870, culminated in his keepership of the Department of Coins and Medals, which he occupied for two or three months short of ten years. As an expert in this sphere of learning, he acted for some time as a joint editor of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, arranged and described for the Society for the Publication of Oriental Text the series of fac-similes of the coins struck by the Atábeks of Syria and Persia, 1848, and, among other learned contributions, communicated to the Numismatic Society of London in 1863 a paper "On the Coins reasonably presumed to be those of Carthage." He was employed from 1871 to 1876 in the compilation of a catalogue of the coins in the Bodleian Library for the University of Oxford. As a scholar of more general and literary activity, Mr. Vaux prepared, in 1851, a descriptive "Handbook to the Antiquities of Greek, Assyrian, Egyptian, and Etruscan Art in the British Museum." He was the author of "Nineveh and Persepolis, an historical sketch of Ancient Assyria and Persia, with an account of the recent researches in those countries," 1850, which reached its fourth edition in 1855, and of which a German translation by Dr. J. T. Zenker was published at Leipsic in 1852. To the series of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, generically entitled "Ancient History from the Monuments," Mr. Vaux contributed two several works—"Persia, from the Earliest Period to the Arab Conquest," 1875, and "Greek Cities and Islands of Asia Minor," 1877. These works, however, by no means exhaust the list of Mr. Vaux's productions, which embrace numerous contributions to the transactions of various learned societies, and especially to those of the Royal Society of Literature, of which Mr. Vaux was for some time secretary. On New Year's Day, 1876, he was appointed to the secretaryship of the Royal Asiatic Society, an office which he held until his death, at his residence in Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, on Sunday evening last. Mr. Vaux, who was the son of the late Prebendary Vaux, of Winchester, Vicar of Romsey, Hants, was born in 1818, and was educated at Westminster and Baliol College, Oxford, where, as already mentioned, he took his B.A. degree in 1840. In the world of learning he was a man of very wide knowledge and of the most varied accomplishments, and he was much esteemed by a large circle of private friends.—*From the Times.*

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE.

The Annual Meeting of the General Committee was held at the Society's Offices, 1, Adam Street, Adelphi, on Wednesday, June 24th, 1885.

The Chair was taken by Mr. James Glaisher.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed. The Secretary then read the following Report of the Executive Committee :—

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"Your Committee, elected at the last meeting of June 19th, 1884, have, on resigning office, to render an account of their administration during the past year.

"I. The Committee have held nineteen meetings during the year.

"II. The 'firman' necessary for the prosecution of the Survey of Eastern Palestine is still withheld by the Turkish authorities.

"III. The work of exploration in the Holy Land has been carried on during the last twelve months by Mr. Laurence Oliphant, Herr Schumacher, and Mr. Guy le Strange. The best thanks of the Committee are due to these gentlemen for the valuable reports and papers given to the Society by them ; some of them, including *Notes on the Jaulan* and *Notes on Carmel* by Mr. Oliphant, have already been published in the *Quarterly Statement*. Other notes by the same gentleman will appear in July, together with an account of a journey east of Jordan by Mr. Guy le Strange. The Committee have also just received, and have great pleasure in laying on the table, a really magnificent contribution to the Survey of the East, in a packet of memoirs, plans, and map, from Herr Schumacher. This work, certainly the most important examination, so far as it goes, of the Jaulan district, as yet made by any traveller, is put forward by the Committee with great satisfaction as the principal work of the year. It is proposed to issue this in a separate form apart from the *Quarterly Statement*, and to present it to all subscribers who may desire to possess a copy. The map will be incorporated with the map of the Society, and laid down on the sheets now being prepared by Mr. Armstrong. It covers about 200 square miles; the Memoirs contain a list of Arabic names, a general description of the country with its perennial streams, cascades, forests, villages, roads, and people, and an account with excellent plans and drawings of the villages and ruins in the district visited by Herr Schumacher.

"Among the principal ruins described may be mentioned that called Kh. Arkub er Rahwah, which Herr Schumacher would identify with the Argob of the Bible, commonly placed at the Lejjah. He is supported in this view by the authority of Burckhardt, who maintained that Argob would be found somewhere in southern Jaulan. Important ruins were found in the Ain Dakhar and Beit Akkar. North of the former place is a field of

dolmens, in number not short of 500, called by the natives Kubur Beni Israil—graves of the children of Israel. Ancient stone bridges were found crossing the streams at Nahr el Allan and Nahr Rukkad ; a remarkable altar was found at Kefr el Ma, conjectured by Herr Schumacher to be the Maccabæan Alima. Here a remarkable statue of basalt was also found. In a village called Sahem el Jolan, Herr Schumacher thinks he has discovered the Biblical Golan, which has hitherto escaped identification. The situation, the name, the extensive ruins, and the traditions of the people, all seem to confirm Herr Schumacher's conjecture. The ruins of the remarkable underground city of Ed Dera were examined and planned for the first time, together with the towns and monuments of El Mezeirib Tuffas and Nawar, identified by Mr. Oliphant with the land of Uz ; other subterranean buildings were found at Kh. Sumakh and at Sheik Saad. The rock tomb of Job was also photographed and planned. These Memoirs and Maps may be considered as following immediately on the notes furnished by Mr. Oliphant for the *Quarterly Statement* of April last. The recovery of two important Biblical places, the mass of light thrown upon ancient worships, the great number of ruins planned, and the care and intelligence bestowed upon the whole work, render it incumbent upon the Committee to ask the General Committee for a special vote of thanks to this young explorer, as well as to Mr. Oliphant and Mr. Guy le Strange. It must also be mentioned that Mr. Oliphant has discovered a dolmen in Judæa, where hitherto none had been found. It lies in a desert and hilly part of the country, on sheet 115 of the great map. Another interesting discovery is one made by Herr Hanauer, close to the site of the ancient Zorah, of a rock altar which suggests the passage in Judges xiii, 19 and 20.

"The publications of the year in the *Quarterly Statement* have also included Major Kitchener's important geographical report of the Arabah Valley. An archæological paper by Clermont-Ganneau on Palestine Antiquities in London, and communications from Canon Tristram, Rev. H. Clay Trumbull, Rev. H. G. Tomkins, Dr. Selah Merrill, Dr. Chaplin, Rev. W. F. Birch, Professor Hull, Mr. Baker Greene, and others, to whom the best thanks of the Committee are due. The books published by the Committee since the last meeting of the General Committee are 'Mount Seir' by Professor Hull, and cheap editions of Captain Conder's 'Tent Work' and 'Heth and Moab.' The remaining copies of the 'Survey of Western Palestine' have been placed in the hands of Mr. A. P. Watt, of Paternoster Row, for disposal, subject to the condition that no reduction be made on the original price of the work.

"The Committee have now in their hands the whole of Professor Hull's Geological Memoirs. This important work has been sent to the printers and will be issued as soon as possible.

"An arrangement has been made with Mr. H. Chichester Hart, by means of which we shall be enabled to publish his Memoirs on the Natural History of the Arabah. Herr Schumacher will also, it is hoped, continue his researches as opportunity may offer.

"The Balance Sheet for the year 1884 was published in the April *Quarterly Statement*. The Society received during the year the sum of £5,654, including a loan of £850, and expended £1,851 in exploration, £2,592 on maps and memoirs, £504 in printing, and £618 in management. Since the beginning of the year the sum of £1,224 has been received; exploration has cost £116, maps and memoirs £408, printers £200, and management £346.

"As regards the maps showing both Eastern and Western Palestine with the Old and New Testament names on them, they are now ready for the engraver, but will not be handed to him until Herr Schumacher's work can be laid down on them. Mr. Armstrong has also completed a list of Old and New Testament names with their identifications.

"The Committee have to express their best thanks to the Local Hon. Secretaries, and to all who have helped to spread a knowledge of their work, which, as will be seen from the preceding report, is actively going on, and will continue to do so, as long as any part of our original prospectus remains to be filled up.

"The Committee have lastly to deplore the sudden death on Sunday last, the 21st, of Mr. W. S. W. Vaux, F.R.S., formerly Chief of the Numismatic Department in the British Museum, and lately Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society. Mr. Vaux has been a member of the Executive Committee since the formation of the Society on May 12th, 1865. There has hardly been a meeting from that date until the last meeting of June 2nd at which he was not present, and his interest in the Society and his watchfulness over the advance of its work have never ceased from the beginning."

The adoption of the Report was proposed by Dr. Chaplin, of Jerusalem, who spoke of the way in which the work of the Society was steadily growing in recognition, and seconded by Mr. Cyril Graham, who bore testimony, from his own experience in the country, to the beauty and excellence of Herr Schumacher's work.

The Dean of Chester proposed the re-election of the Executive Committee. This was seconded by the Rev. Dr. Löwy. Both gentlemen took occasion to speak of the great loss the Society had sustained in the lamented death of Mr. Vaux.

Mr. Henry Maudslay proposed, and Mr. Crace seconded, a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

THE SITE OF EMMAUS.

(*See Quarterly Statement, October* 1884, *April* 1885.)

In reply to Mr. Mearns, I only ask permission to prove my statement that Josephus (Bell. Jud. iv, 1) does interpret *Emmaus* to mean, in the particular place referred to, *Hotwells*. Mr. M. contends "The word he uses is θερμα, *warm baths*, referring to the gentle heat of baths. But if he had meant hot springs he would have used the feminine, θερμαι." Whatever the lexicon may say, Josephus leaves no doubt as to his own employment of θερμα in the passage before us. His words are: μεθερμηνευομενη δὲ Αμμαοῦς, θερμὰ λέγοιτ' ἂν, ἔστι γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ πηγὴ θερμῶν ὑδάτων πρὸς ἄκεσιν ἐπιτήδειος. Mr. Mearns paraphrases this passage in the following somewhat imaginative manner:—"Josephus says that the meaning of a warm bath was peculiarly applicable to the Tiberian Emmaus; for in it was a spring of hot water *to supply the bath*, and useful for healing. *The historian distinctly says that the name always points to a warm bath.*" (The italics are mine.) If Mr. Mearns reads his authors in this fashion, I think I may safely leave my argument to take care of itself on other points on which he animadverts.

A. Kennion.

ACCOUNT OF A SHORT JOURNEY EAST OF THE JORDAN.

By Guy le Strange.

The impediments which, at the present time, the Turkish Government almost invariably throw in the way of any one who attempts a journey into the country across the Jordan, and having heard of the large sums usually demanded of travellers by the Sheikhs of the Belka under plea of escort dues—emboldens me to offer this present account of a hurried trip through 'Ajlûn and the Belkâ, successfully carried out during the month of November, 1884, without Government permission, tents, baggage-mules, or blackmail. We left Nazareth on the morning of Tuesday, the 11th of November, but, as is often the case on the first day of a journey, the start was delayed by reason of trifles forgotten till the last moment, and, in consequence, the sun was already two hours on its course before we lost sight of the white houses of Nazareth and threaded the ravines down into the plain of Esdraelon. Pella was to have been the end of the first stage, but the sky was clouding up and threatening a deluge ; hence even before we had passed the villages of Nain and Endor it seemed hopeless to attempt getting across the Jordan that day. The rain, however, held off till after lunch, which was discussed on the green bank of Goliath's river, the Nahr Jâlûd, which runs into the Jordan after watering Beisân, and then we walked our horses through the ruin of the beautiful Saracenic Caravanserai overhanging the stream which is known as the Khân el Ahmar, or "the Red." But an hour later, while passing through the squalid village of Beisân, and casting a hurried glance at the imposing and widespread ruins of the ancient Scythopolis of the Decapolis, down came the rain in torrents ; and the sky at the same time displayed such sure tokens of something more than a passing shower, that by 4 o'clock it was determined to seek shelter and a night's lodging in the hospitable tent of an Arab whom we found camped below in the valley of the Jordan.

For about ten hours the rain continued with but little abatement, soaking through the hair walls, and dripping from the roof of our host's abode, and further causing the sheep and goats to be disagreeably anxious to participate with us in the comparative shelter which the same afforded. However, by a couple of hours past midnight the sky was again clear, and I may add that during the remainder of the trip as far as Jerusalem, the state of the atmosphere was everything that could be desired. The late autumn in Palestine, as a season for journeying and exploration, has perhaps some advantages over the spring, if only the traveller be sufficiently fortunate to happen on the six weeks or two months which generally intervene between the early autumn showers and the steady rains of winter, which last do not, as a rule, begin much before Christmas.

In the autumn, the land, having been parched by the summer heats, is of course less green and beautiful than is the case in the early days of spring; but, on the other hand, ruins are no longer concealed by any luxuriant vegetation, and since the coolness of the weather renders a shortened halt at noon a matter of no inconvenience, the traveller can devote to the business on hand all the hours of daylight, which even at this season can be counted upon as lasting from 7 A.M. to 5 P.M. Bedouins in general are of course early risers, and we, their guests, had in consequence no difficulty in getting early into the saddle, so that before the sun had made its appearance above the mountains of Ajlûn we were riding eastwards over the fertile lands of the Ghôr, the Arab name for the mighty "cleft" through which the waters of the Jordan pour. At the present day the country all round Beisân, though partially cultivated, and fetching a certain price in the market, is not to compare with the description that has been left to us of its fertility in the century preceding the arrival of the Crusaders. Mokaddasi,[1] writing about the year 1000 A.D., describes Beisân at his time as being rich in palm trees, and informs us that all the rice used in the provinces of the Jordan, and of Palestine, was grown here. At the present day no rice is cultivated anywhere in this neighbourhood, nor for the matter of that, as far as I know, in any other part of Palestine, and the palm has long been gone from here as from the shores of the Sea of Tiberias, where, according to the geographer above quoted, there might be seen in his days "all around the Lake villages and date palms, while on the same sail boats coming and going continually."[2]

That the bygone prosperity might easily return to this country, should circumstances (*i.e.*, the Government) again become propitious, was an idea that impressed itself on us, each moment the more, while riding over the rich soil, and fording at every hundred yards the streams which here intersect the Ghôr. An abrupt descent brought us in an hour to the Jordan, at a ford where the water scarcely reached the bellies of our horses, and we had the luck to be guided to the right place by three of our hosts of the previous evening, who, mounted on their wirey, bald-tailed mares, and armed with the long Arab lance, had turned out to accompany us during the first few hours of the way. Across the Jordan we suddenly came upon an encampment of black tents, tenanted by kinsmen of our last night's host, and as a consequence were condemned to waste a precious hour while coffee was prepared and ceremoniously drunk, followed by a light repast of bread and sour milk; and hence it was past nine before we reached the ruins of Pella, although these lie but an hour distant from the spot at which we forded the Jordan. As Mr. Selah Merrill very justly observes in the work which, unless I am misinformed, is as yet the

[1] Edited in Arabic by de Goeje (Leyden, 1877), p. 162.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 161. A few stunted palms are, however, still to be seen at Kufr Argib and elsewhere on the shores of the Lake (see J. Macgregor, "Rob Roy on the Jordan," 1869, pp. 325, 329; also, "Recovery of Jerusalem," p. 367, in Capt. Wilson's article on the Sea of Galilee).

sole fruit of the American Palestine Exploration Society, "Tabakât Fahl is a beautiful location for a city, and the wonder is that it should have been forsaken." Even after the long summer drought, the springs gushing out among the broken columns and ruins of former splendour, are abundant enough to make fertile all the neighbouring land, which, situated as it is on the upper level of the Ghôr, and 250 feet below the sea, enjoys, perhaps, the finest climate, from an agricultural point of view, that can be found in Syria.

That the Arab name of Tabakât Fahl, the Fahl Terraces, represents the ancient Greek Pella, there can be little doubt. Dr. Robinson, who was the first to make this identification, is no mean authority in such matters, and further, Mr. Merrill, who discusses the various objections which may be urged against this present site, winds up the argument by bringing together a mass of evidence in favour of this being the ancient Pella of the Decapolis, giving citations from the works of Josephus, Stephanus of Byzantium, Eusebius, and others, who treat of the early topography of Palestine.[1] It may be of some interest to add that though the site has, to all appearance, for centuries been abandoned by the Moslems, it is renowned in their early chronicles as being the field which witnessed the great "Battle of Fahl," which, six centuries after Christ, sealed the fate of Byzantine rule in Syria.[2] According to the annalist Tabari, this celebrated victory was gained in the year 13 A.H.,[3] and the geographer Yakut asserts that the Greeks left 80,000 dead on the field.

In the first decades of the Christian era, Pliny, describing Pella, notes its abundant water supply, and in the Talmud this city is mentioned under the name of "Phahil," as having *hot* springs.[4] At the present day, however, the springs, though abundant, are apparently not thermal. We found them icy cold, and perfectly sweet, and on this point it may be added that the Arab geographers never allude to them in their enumeration of the numerous Hammâms of the Jordan Valley. Neglecting the Greek name Pella, the Arabs, according to their wont, revived the older Semitic pronunciation of Phahil, which they wrote Fahil or Fihl. It is of interest here to note that Yakut, in his Geographical Encyclopædia,[5] after stating the correct pronunciation of the name to be "Fihl," continues, "I believe this name to be of foreign origin, since I do not recognise in it the form of any Arab word." And that this Pella was the place which witnessed the Moslem victory over the Greek forces, is placed beyond a doubt by the further statement that "the battle of Fihl, which took place within the year of the capitulation of Damascus, is likewise known under the appellation of the Day of Beisân,"[6] and from Beisân, on the right bank

[1] "East of the Jordan," by S. Merrill (London, 1881), pp. 442–447.

[2] Weil., "Gesch. der Chalifen," I, 40, *et seq.*

[3] Ed. Kosegarten, II, 158.

[4] Conder's "Handbook to the Bible," 3rd edition, p. 315.

[5] "Mo'jam-al-Buldân" (Leipzig), III, 853.

[6] Quoted also by the author of the "Marâsid-el-Ittilâ," ed. Juynboll, II, 336, whose work is a critical abridgment of Yakut's Encyclopædia.

of the Jordan, we had ridden in a couple of hours. Pella, or Fihl, must have fallen into ruin very shortly after the Moslem conquest, as is proved by the absence of all Saracenic remains among those of the Byzantine epoch which cover the ground in all the neighbourhood of the springs. A like fate also befell most of the great Greek cities over Jordan, such as Gerasa (Jerâsh) and Philadelphia (Ammân), where we find little that is Moslem among much that recalls the Christian times. A few generations later, after the third century of the Hejra, the very name of Fihl ceases to be mentioned in the itineraries and town lists of the Arab geographers, and neither Istakhri, Ibn Haukal, nor Mokaddasi (himself a Syrian) take any notice of the place. Still, in A.H. 278, one of the earliest of their geographers, Yakubi, considered it a place of importance, for in his summary of the cities of the military province of the Jordan (*Jond al Urdunn*), after describing such towns as Acre and Tyre, he mentions[1] together Tibnîn, Fihl, and Jerâsh, adding that "the population inhabiting these towns is of a mixed character, part Arab, part foreign" (*al 'ajam*), by which last term, if I am not mistaken, we are to understand the native Greek-speaking Christians who had not been displaced by the immigrant Arabs. Fihl, or Tabakât Fahl, as the place is now called, having thus been left undisturbed for nigh on a thousand years, would doubtless yield a rich archæological harvest to any one who could spend some days among the ruins, and carefully examine the very large number of broken cornices and other carved stones which lie about on every hand. Considerable remains of buildings also, that were once adorned with columns, surround the spot where the springs gush out from the hill-side.

Although the Jordan Valley is elsewhere parched after the summer droughts, the Fihl Gorge was a mass of waving green reeds, reaching higher than a horseman's head, and almost completely masking from view the ruined edifices which lay partially submerged in the running water. Near what must have been a bath—judging from the large piscina —stood a fine monolith in white marble, above 8 feet in height; and among the reeds, a score of yards further down, and nearer the north bank, were two others, rising, each of them, over a dozen feet out of the pool in which they stood. But nowhere did we notice inscriptions. The great centre of population would seem to have been up on the hill-side on the right or northern bank of the stream. Here there are traces of a large necropolis with innumerable sarcophagi lying about on every hand. In most cases these last had been smashed up by iconoclastic treasure-seekers, but some remained almost intact, displaying the Christian emblems beautifully carved in the white stone. One in particular was noticeable from its high artistic merit. The lid of the sarcophagus was still perfect, adorned with three wreaths chiselled in high relief, and between them, in monogram, the , and the A.Ω. but with no further

[1] "Kitâb-al-Buldân," ed. Juynboll, p. 115.

inscription. Traces of buildings and half-buried columns lie in profusion to the south of the necropolis, on the slope overhanging the green gorge where the stream gushes out, while, doubtless, the precipitous hill which shuts in the left or southern bank of the wâdy, would repay a more detailed examination than any which has as yet been bestowed upon it. Digging would naturally be most desirable here, but much that is interesting might easily be brought to light by any one who would come armed with a crowbar, and give himself the trouble of turning over the drums and the cornices which, to all appearances, have lain in their present position since the days of the Arab invasion; and greatly do I regret that, in our hurried visit, I had neither tools with me, nor leisure time, that would have allowed of a detailed examination of this little visited ruin.

The road from Fahl to 'Ajlûn winds up the steep north bank of the Wâdy Fahl, here running east-north-east into the plateau overhanging the eastern boundary of the Jordan Valley. For the first mile the wâdy is narrow and precipitous, and the road a mere path straggling about the cliffs, a hundred feet above the dry torrent bed; but after passing a curious gap, where two giant boulders on projecting spurs have the appearance of watch towers, the gorge widens and bifurcates, the road taking the branch gulley leading in the direction east-south-east. Since Mr. Merrill has laid such stress on his discovery, in these parts, of the Roman road running between Pella and Gerasa,[1] referred to by Eusebius, and which the American archæologist regards as a final proof that Fahl is Pella, I was naturally on the look-out for traces of the same in the Wâdy Fahl. It is a disappointment for me to have to confess that though evident remains of a paved causeway are found in several places on the uplands above, yet here in the wâdy itself no traces could be discovered of cuttings in the cliff sides. I therefore conclude that the road must have approached Fahl (Pella) down some other gulley.

Three-quarters of an hour after leaving Fahl we had reached the upland rolling plain, intersected in every direction by shallow ravines, and dotted with scrub oak. Before us, in a south-easterly direction, rose the mountains of Gilead; to the right, less than a mile away, and due south, was the village of Kefr Abîl; while on the left, at a distance of a mile and a half, on a low spur, appeared Beit 'Adîs. Skirting the heads of three small wâdies which lead down to the Jordan Valley, our road took a southerly direction for a couple of miles over the barren upland, after which suddenly the path plunged down off this upland into the precipitous gorge, which I believe to be an upper arm of the Wâdy Yâbis. On the height, with a path running up to it from the gorge, lies the village of Kefr Abîl before mentioned, and before leaving the upland plateau, on the very brink of the wâdy, our road passed through remains of former habitations, rendered the more noticeable by the living rock having in many places been cut into to form large square tanks, measuring, roughly,

[1] *Op. cit.*, 357, 445.

in length 10 feet by 8 feet across. These were now filled up with mould so as to be flush with the surface, and have been constructed to serve as vats for oil or wine. The workmanship was assuredly ancient, and such as to do honour to the skill and perseverance of the stone-cutters of Palestine. The wâdy into which the road plunged turned off upwards into the hills in a north-easterly direction, while downwards, towards its outlet, it runs on for more than a mile due south with many smaller wâdies coming into it from the east. In this part both the main wâdy and its tributaries were, at this season, completely dry, though showing clear traces of the rush of spring freshets. The road ran down in the bed of the wâdy, and we followed it for about a mile before turning to the left into a green valley leading up in a south-easterly direction, where nestled the village of Jedaidah surrounded by olive trees and gardens. The natural beauties of this dell, the distant clatter of the two mills which were churning the waters of the brawling stream, the well-tilled fields, and the succulent grass that covered the slopes on every hand, to us invested Jedaidah with all the attributes of a rural paradise ; and it being now past midday we proceeded to recruit exhausted nature with certain of the contents of our saddle-bags, while the nags lunched, even more sumptuously than we, on the fresh grass of the brook side.

Whether or not this be the main stream of the Wâdy Yâbis I was unable to ascertain, for the maps of this district are all remarkably deficient and inexact, and a villager whom I questioned was ambiguous in his replies. But from Jedeidah, as far as we could see, the stream, making a bend at right angles about a mile down the wâdy going due south, turns west again, and forcing its way through the mountains would have every appearance of coming out into the Jordan Valley at the spot where the Wâdy Yâbis is marked on the maps. All this we noted while following the path which led away in the opposite direction, for scrambling up the high spur overhanging the left bank of the stream, we proceeded nearly due east into the mountains along and up the ridge, which forms the southern boundary of the little valley where we had made the noontide halt. The wâdies here begin to be dotted with scrub oak, through which, after riding for a short hour, we came into the olive groves surrounding the hamlet of Urjân. There is collected in this village a population apparently too numerous for the accommodatiom provided by its houses. More than half its inhabitants have turned the caves, which honeycomb the rocks, into habitations, and thus manage to provide themselves with all the comforts of a home in the bowels of the ground. These caverns would seem to be mostly of artificial construction, having squared windows and doors, with properly situated smoke holes, but very awkward for riders, and into which, several times, it was difficult for me to prevent my horse from precipitating himself. These tenements would doubtless prove worthy of investigation by any one who, more fortunate than was the case with myself, shall have leisure to overcome the inhospitable shyness of their present occupants, and thus have the good fortune to gain admittance to these Troglodyte harems.

Beyond Urjân may be said to begin the forest of Ajlûn. At first the

hill slopes, and later on both the torrent beds and the ridges, become covered by oak trees, with an average height of between 30 and 40 feet. In the spring time, doubtless, the ground would be covered with grass and weeds, but now, in the late autumn, nothing was to be seen under the trees but the bare rocks ; still from the thickness of the forest, and the low sweep of the branches, a horseman ten yards ahead was generally completely hidden from view. For a mile beyond Urjân the road keeps along the southern slope of the valley under the trees, leading steadily upward and crossing the entrances of many smaller dells, till finally it turns up one of these latter in a direction south-west by south, and round the upper end gains the summit of the ridge, whence a lovely view is obtained through the oak openings back over the Jordan Valley towards the Dead Sea. A little further on along the ridge, and about three-quarters of an hour after leaving Urjân, we passed a large circular hole in the ground, some 6 feet across, opening down into an immense cistern, now partly choked with rubbish, but the bottom of which was still 20 feet from the surface of the ground. It appeared to be bottle-shaped within, as are most of the cisterns in Palestine. In a southerly direction not far from its mouth, under the trees, were traces of ruined walls, but I was unable to obtain from the guide any information as to the name by which the place was, or had formerly been, known.

Our road still lay along the ridge in a south-easterly direction, with the broad wâdy on the left hand down which behind us lay Urjân, while on the right we were continually crossing charming glades where the oaks ever and again give place to bay trees, and through them a rider obtains picturesque glimpses over the well-wooded hills to the south-west. It was up one of these glades, or rather forming the background of an upland plain closed in on either hand by dark green mountain slopes, that we first caught sight of the Castle of Rabûd crowning a hill-top about three miles away, bearing south-south-west. From this point, which is rather more than an hour distant from Urjân, a direct road, said to be very stony, leads to the Kusr er Rabûd straight up this plain. It was, however, now past 3 o'clock, and the days being short we decided to push straight on to the town of Ajlûn, our night quarters, and put off visiting the castle till the morrow. We therefore turned up the hill-side to the south-east, and on the brow first caught sight of the town far below us, at the junction of three valleys, embowered in its gardens, its minaret and walls already gilded by the rays of the setting sun. An hour's scramble, first round the shoulder of the hill and then over into the valley which comes down on Ajlûn from the north, brought us to our destination, and for the last two miles the road lay through a succession of vineyards among the rocks, where the vines, whose leaves the autumn had turned to ruddy gold, stood out against the darker shade of ancient olive trees. The distance we had travelled perhaps lent a false enchantment to the view, but whether or not this be the cause, Ajlûn has a place in my memory as one of the most beautiful and fertile regions of Palestine that I visited, bearing comparison in this even with those far-famed villages that are watered by the rivers of Damascus. The little town is situated at the junction of three valleys, one coming from the north

down which had been our road ; another coming from the west, blocked a couple of miles distant by the spur, crowned with the Castle of Rabûd ; while opposite is the valley leading up almost due east on the road to Sûf and Jerâsh. The place contains a mosque with a tall square minaret, of fine workmanship in yellow stone ; and this last recalls so strikingly some campanile in the plains of Lombardy, that I am inclined to suppose that we have here the relics of a Christian church, perhaps of Crusader times. The town has an abundant supply of water from a spring which gushes out, not far from the mosque, under an archway of ancient masonry, which rises among ruins of columns and cornices. Modern Ajlûn is, however, but an unpicturesque collection of mud hovels, where the homestead generally consists of an agglomeration of windowless cabins surrounding a dung-heap.

In one of these cabins, having accomplished the ejection of our host's family, we proceeded to take up our night's quarters, and made an excellent dinner off the mutton and rice that had been originally prepared for his own household. It then became a burning question to my two companions whether the hospitality which they in turn were forced to offer to the fleas would allow of their enjoying the solace of undisturbed repose. For myself I was happy in being above such considerations. For, during a late trip across the Haurân, sundry insects pervading the guest chambers of my Arab hosts, having kept me for three successive nights without closing an eye, and further observing myself to be rendered incapable of archæological research through the physical exhaustion brought on by ceaseless scratching, I had, this journey, brought in my wallet a small string-hammock. Now the den in which we were quartered had, like most Arab cabins, square ventilation-holes, left under the rafters on either side below the ceiling. Through two of these holes, from without, I found I could manage to push the straight stems of a couple of long logs of firewood, in such a manner that the ends protruded very appropriately inside, like pegs standing out from the opposite wall of the room ; while the logs were jammed and prevented from being drawn completely through the holes by the gnarled and branched portion that remained without. Having thus got my pegs inside the room I proceeded to sling the hammock from them about a yard and a half above my friends and the fleas, and enjoyed thereby undisturbed repose during the night, having first been duly admired by the whole population of the village, who, during a couple of hours, were admitted in rotation to rejoice their eyes at the unaccustomed sight of a Frank in bed in a hammock.

The next morning, the 13th of November, we were up betimes, and after a thimbleful of coffee rode up, going almost due west, to the Kul'at er Rabûd, and reached it in a few minutes over the half-hour. From the Arab geographers quoted on a previous page, I have been unable to obtain any information as to the early history of this splendid fortress.[1] Raised on

[1] I find no mention of the place in the works of Yakubi, Ibn Haukal, Istakhri, Mokaddasi, or Yakut, neither does the name occur in Ibn-el-Athîr's

foundations that would appear to date from Roman days, its bastions and walls bear silent witness to the energy and skill of the Crusading Knights who, during their two century tenure of the Holy Land, erected this stronghold beyond the Jordan to hold the country of Moab and Ammon in awe. The view from its battlements is grand beyond the power of pen to describe. Looking west, the long valley of the Jordan, from the Lake of Gennesareth to the Dead Sea, lay spread out at our feet, with the windings of the Jordan itself glittering among the green brushwood, its surface being already gilded by the beams of the rising sun. Beyond and for a background were the mountains of Samaria, while on either hand lay the well-clothed hills of Ajlûn, now bronzed by the late autumn, and giving back a sheen of almost metallic lustre under the level rays of sunlight that were pouring over them. Eastward at our feet rose up the town of Ajlûn nestling at the bifurcation of the valleys, in its gardens and vineyards; and beyond, some three miles off, white in a green garland, was 'Ain Jannâ, a village on the road to Jerâsh. The castle itself crowns a height, and is surrounded by a deep moat dug out of the rock. Its vaults and halls are certainly some of the finest in Palestine, the masonry equalling that to be seen at 'Athlît, on the sea coast above Cæsarea, which is always quoted as the most remarkable of the Crusading ruins. Kusr-er-Rabûd amply deserves a more extended examination than any that has as yet been accorded to it by travellers. As I have noted above, the foundations of the building would appear to date from Roman days, for on many of the stones used in the lower walls eagles are carved, in low relief, which seemed to me of earlier workmanship than the tenth century. On the left of the gate-house high up in the wall is a tablet bearing an Arab inscription, which I was unable to come near enough to read. My readers will easily believe how about these old walls, thus perched on the mountain-top as a landmark to all the Jordan Valley, and concerning the men who first constructed its dungeons and wells and dark passages, there was an amount of mystery that it would have been most fascinating to have made some attempt at penetrating, had the time permitted of a detailed exploration. But that night we were bound to sleep at, or beyond, Jerâsh, and therefore

voluminous chronicle. However, although unnoticed among the Crusading Castles of Palestine by G. Rey, in his "Monuments de l'Architecture Militaire des Croisés en Syrie," an examination of the architecture and mode of construction has led me to doubt that the building is of purely Saracenic origin. I must state, however, on the other hand, that Burckhardt, who visited the place in his travels and found it occupied by a garrison, writes ("Travels in Syria," pp. 266, 267") that he saw Arabic inscriptions (presumably on the slab in the wall that I was unable to reach) which proclaimed that the castle was built by Saladin. Which too is further corroborated by Abu-l-Feda's Geography, a work of the fourteenth century of our era, where it is stated (p. 245 of the Arabic Text) that the Castle of Ajlûn was built by 'Izz-ed-Dîn Osâmah, one of Saladin's famous captains. Still, in spite of all this, after having examined the place, I must repeat that there is little doubt in my mind that parts of the building date from prior to the time of Saladin or even the first Crusade.

after a hurried visit we reluctantly turned our backs on the castle, and returning through the town of Ajlûn rode on, up the valley eastwards, towards 'Ain Jannâ.

On the right bank of the bed of the brook up which lay our path, and five minutes after leaving the last houses of the town, is a low cavern, used by the natives as a stable for their cattle. As far as we could see it contained no inscriptions or sculptures, and though originally, doubtless, natural, it had been artificially enlarged for the convenience of the beasts, being in most places upwards of 6 feet in height, and running deep into the hill-side for a distance that we estimated at somewhat less than fifty yards, thus affording a large area under cover, that was at the present moment much encumbered with all sorts of refuse. The distance of about a mile and a half which separates 'Ajlûn from 'Ain Jannâ is almost entirely taken up with olive trees, from which the fruit had now (November) lately been shaken; and in the market-place of the latter village we passed three huge caldrons filled with crushed berries set in a little water to simmer over a slow fire, this being one of the methods of extracting the oil. Beyond 'Ain Jannâ the road still continues straight up the valley almost due east, and, on the northern hill slope about half-a-mile from the village, passes beside a couple of rock-cut tombs overhanging the bed of the stream, the second of the two still containing a broken sarcophagus without ornament. A short distance beyond these we come on the source of the brook, where it wells up from a hole under a rock in the middle of the valley. The stream runs down from here through 'Ain Jannâ, and even at this season suffices to water all the lands between this and 'Ajlûn. Above this point, although no water was visible, oak groves of considerable extent lay on every hand, and the path, after traversing a rocky glen where the branches of the trees almost met above our heads, came to a more open space where at a couple of miles above 'Ain Jannâ the roads to Irbid and Sûf bifurcate. Of these we followed the latter, bearing slightly towards the right and in a southerly direction, through park-like glades, and in half-an-hour reached the saddle which forms the watershed between the valleys of Ajlûn and Sûf. At this point a fine view was obtained over the way before us, running through the broad valley winding down towards Jerâsh in a direction a little south of east. The ground about here was dotted with oak trees and scrub, but the growth became smaller and the clumps more sparse the further we left Ajlûn behind, till at last, near Sûf, about three miles from the saddle, the trees had disappeared almost entirely. Before reaching this village the valley narrows to a gorge shut in by white chalk cliffs, and the track, after climbing among those which overhang the ravine to the south, leads suddenly down on the squalid cabins of the inhabitants.

The Sheikh of Sûf has so evil a reputation among travellers for both cupidity and insolence that, it being yet an hour to lunch time, we decided on hurrying on without paying him a visit; but that we did not make some acquaintance with the people of the village was a cause of

subsequent regret to me, when I heard that they held in their hands many of the coins and antiquities which are brought to them for sale by the Circassians who are colonising Jerâsh. There were, in particular, rumours of a pot said to have been dug up in this neighbourhood, and reported to have contained countless gold coins of large size, which same had not all of them, as yet, been delivered over into the hands of the officials of the Ottoman Government, to whom all treasure-trove is lawfully due. The finding of hoards is of by no means rare occurrence in Palestine, where the people have at all times been their own bankers, and have ever preferred confiding their hard-earned gains back to the bosom of mother earth, rather than entrust them, for safe keeping, to friends in whom they could place no trust, knowing well that they themselves, in the like position, would, without a question, deem it imbecile to be fettered by any shackles of honesty or honour. The road from Sûf to Jerâsh, which we travelled over during a ride of rather more than an hour and a half, has been so well described in guide books as to need no detailed notice. For the most part the path follows the hill-slopes on the southern side of the broad shallow wâdy which runs down in an easterly direction till it joins that wherein lies Jerâsh, which is a valley joining it from the south. Shortly after leaving Sûf, far down to the left of the road and on the northern hill-slope, a ruin was pointed out to us by our guide which our time did not permit of our visiting, but as he assured us that it was the remains of some ancient, edifice it may perhaps repay the examination of some future traveller with leisure at command. Even before reaching Sûf, as noticed above, the aspect of the country had changed. The thick oak forest, which is so characteristic of the Ajlûn hills, had been replaced by single stunted trees, pines and scrub oaks, dotted sparsely over the hill-sides; beyond Sûf the slopes became almost bare, and in all the country to the east and south of Jerâsh the land is for the most part treeless, and only an occasional pollarded oak cuts the sky line of the hill-top.

Riding across the hills from Sûf, Jerâsh becomes visible from the village of Deir-el-Leyyeh, a couple of miles from the ruins, which are seen spread out below in the broad valley running north and south. From this upper point, where, at the bottom of a hole in the rock, there is a spring, all along the road lie fragments of sarcophagi and carved stones, showing how extensive must have been the suburbs and necropolis of the Roman city. Jerâsh, or Gerasa, has been too often and too well described to require more than a passing notice in these pages. At the time of our visit the Circassians had possession of the place, but had fortunately taken up their abode on the left bank of the stream, where the ruins are comparatively insignificant, and they had not as yet begun to meddle with the magnificent theatres, colonnades, and temples crowding the right bank, and which are, Palmyra perhaps excepted, the most extensive and marvellous remains of the Græco-Roman rule in Syria. The prosperity of the town, despite its fine situation and plentiful water supply, diminished considerably after the expulsion of the Byzantines. The locality, however, is mentioned by Yakûbi, a couple of centuries after the Moslem conquest,

as being in his time one of the towns of the Jordan province: and again the poet al-Mutanabbi, one of the most celebrated of those who flourished at the Court of Baghdad, in a panegyric, devotes some lines to the praise of the fertility of the Crown domains at Jerâsh. But, except for such incidental notices, if I mistake not, the city is rarely mentioned by the subsequent Arab geographers and historians; though Yakût, in the thirteenth century A.D., who had not himself visited the spot, writes that it was described to him by those who had seen it as "a great city, now a ruin, . . . through which runs a stream used for turning many mills; . . . it lies among hills that are covered with villages and hamlets, the district being known under the name of the Jerâsh Mountain."[1] Whatever may have been the original cause of its depopulation, it is very noticeable that the ruins of Jerâsh up to the present day have been but little disturbed. There has never been any great Moslem city in its neighbourhood, and hence its columns remain *in situ* or, thrown down by the earthquake, sprawling along the ground, while the stones of the Great Temple of the Sun and of the theatres are fortunate in having been, as yet, unpilfered for building material. Further, since there is in these regions no sand to drift over and veil the outlines, and the frequent drought preventing the ruins from becoming masked by vegetation, all that remains stands out, white and glaring, in noontide, having that same appearance of recent desolation which is so striking a characteristic of the freshly cleared streets of Pompeii.

After lunching on the bank of the stream, among the gigantic oleanders that, still in November, were covered with delicate pink flowers, we passed the afternoon riding about, examining the ancient city, combining archæological investigations with the keeping of a good look-out against prowling Circassians, and at sundown proceeded out of the southern gate, past the circus, now a meadow, and through the fine Triumphal Arch at the town limit. Here turning to the left, we crossed the stream at the mills and began to climb the conical hill on which stands the Moslem village and sanctuary of Neby Hûd, where it was determined to claim for ourselves hospitality, and safe night quarters for our horses, against the thievish propensities of the Christian Circassians.

The view from this high point is extremely fine, and embraces all the valley and ruins of Jerâsh looking north. While the guest-room was being swept out the elders came round and discoursed on their grievances, against the Government in general, and their new Circassian neighbours in particular. These last are a thorn to the Moslems in their agricultural operations, and further debar them from poking about for treasure among the vaults and cisterns of Jerâsh, a city built, as one of the sheikhs was good enough to inform me, by his own ancestors, the 'Adites, of the Days of Ignorance. After supper till near midnight had we to listen to and discuss politics with these worthy people, among whom the arrival of a traveller is a rare accident, and we three being Christians and they

[1] *Op. cit.*, II, 61.

Moslems, points of religion were often incidentally touched upon to the exceeding happiness of our Arab guide, who was a red hot Protestant and polemic. Despite religious differences, however, we remained excellent friends, and ultimately all slept together in the guest chamber, the party consisting of our three selves, the sheikhs, and the children. During the night an occasional dog chased goats over our prostrate forms, and the fleas hopped about merrily, which combined prevented our oversleeping ourselves. Hence by half-past six next morning (Nov. 14th) we had saddled our horses, and, breakfastless, were off for 'Ammân, to which place it had been determined to proceed by the direct road across country, without going first south-west to Salt and thence back south-east to Ammân, the route generally followed by the caravans. This direct road is hilly, and there have to be crossed numberless valleys, which from the east intersect the tableland lying between Jerâsh and Ammân ; it is but little used, and, as far as I could learn, has been seldom described by previous travellers. To us its being the less known was, of course, a recommendation ; besides, as we had no wish to excite the attention of the officials of the Belkâ, it was perhaps as well to avoid visiting Salt, the residence of the Governor of that province.

Starting from Neby Hûd in a south-easterly direction, after half-an-hour we crossed at right angles the Wâdy Riyâshî, running south-west, and down which lies the direct road to Salt. At the point where we forded the brook is a ruined mill almost hidden in the mass of oleanders and fig trees bordering the bed of the stream, which, it is said, joins the Jerâsh river a short distance before this latter itself falls into the Zerkâ. We, however, turning towards the south, left the Riyâshî behind us, and making our way up the hill slopes above its left bank, here most refreshingly dotted with scrub oak, in rather more than half-an-hour had gained the summit of the watershed which divides the valley of Jerâsh from that of the Zerkâ. The saddle across which the road lay commanded a fine view on either hand, the summit being marked by a cairn of stones a dozen feet high, erected to mark the spot where a celebrated chief had been slain. From here to the right, westwards, there was visible the lower part of the valley of Jerâsh, separated from us by several ranges of bare hills. To the left, and in front towards the south, lay the hills of the Belkâ, cut off from us by a deep gorge, at the bottom of which, as yet unseen, ran the Zerkâ, the Biblical Jabbok, in ancient times the boundary between the territories of Og, the King of Bashan, and of Sihon, King of the Amorites, and still to-day the limit to the north of the Belkâ province. The hills all round were barren and stony, here and there a pollarded oak struggled for existence against the drought and the loss of its branches, which the Bedouins cut off for fuel, and everything seemed lifeless and forlorn, until suddenly, as we were making our way down a steep spur to the bed of the Zerkâ, we came on an encampment of three black tents, hidden away in a delicious little dell, down which went brawling a tiny stream. The Bedouin men were all away with the flocks, but the women received us hospitably, started coffee-making, and the

while were profuse in advice and directions as to the road we were to follow. They belonged, they said, to the Khaza 'Ali, a branch of the Beni Hasan, one of the great tribes of the Belkâ, and seemed in comfortable circumstances. Very pretty striped carpets of goat hair were spread for us to sit on in the shade of the goat-hair walls, and though our hostess was more remarkable for her perpetual chatter than for graces of person, she seemed extremely proud of the rings which adorned both thumb and little finger of her right hand and the two big toes of her feet. What between conversation, coffee-making, and the setting before us of bread and milk, it was fully an hour before we could tear ourselves away from our gossiping hostess, but at last we set off again up the hill spur, and then began once more zigzaging downwards. A final scramble brought us into a small amphitheatre debouching on to the river, the slopes of which were covered with the curious shrub called by the Arabs "Yenbût," its long fleshy green twigs or leaves, of the thickness of crotchet needles, brushing against our faces as we pushed our way through the tangle.

The bed of the Zerkâ, at this season only some three yards broad, and barely a foot deep, is bordered with the "Daflah," or oleander, still showing an occasional pink flower among its dark green leaves. The sides of the gorge in which the river runs are here extremely steep, in places almost perpendicular, and while further to the west, down the river, the valley appears to open out, up eastward the mountains on either hand closed in more and more, till in the extreme distance the stream makes its way out of a gigantic cleft where high precipices would seem almost to meet a thousand feet above the water. At the spot where we now crossed, the Wâdy Zerkâ has a level pebbly bottom above two hundred yards across, which during the freshets must be almost totally submerged. Riding straight across this we proceeded to pick out a torrent bed among the many that cut through the cliffs overhanging the river on the south, and after half-an-hour's climb up a very steep wâdy, we were again on the high uplands, whence, looking back over the gorge, we could trace our late route among the hills of Jerâsh. Continuing on through a broad upland valley dotted with trees, before long there appeared a small village of mud cabins,—among which was a blacksmith's shop in full blast,—clustering together under the shade of a grove of oaks, many of them of no inconsiderable size. The place is called 'Alûk, and is situated about two miles distant from the Zerkâ, due south of the spot at which we came across the river. From 'Alûk the road towards 'Ammân first runs due east for a couple of miles over the upland, crossing every now and again the head of some wâdy running down towards the left into the gorge of the Zerkâ ; and finally, bearing round towards the south, crosses a hill shoulder from which back over the gorge and the hills the white dome of Neby Hûd can be made out in the far distance. The country over which we were now travelling may be described as a rolling upland cultivated in patches by the Bedouin, and in places overgrown by brushwood, scrub oak, and yanbût. Among these hollows and hills we frequently lost our way and wandered about till set on the right path by chancing to stumble

on some small camp of black tents, occupied by the women who were herding the camels in the absence of their lords.

Several times in this part of the country we passed "Arab circles" of small boulder stones, and on one occasion, under a fine Butm tree, came on what was evidently the tomb of a much respected sheikh, to judge from the corn measures and the plough which had been deposited within the circle of the shrine for safe keeping. About four miles from Alûk, and roughly to the south-east of it, topping a low hill over which lies the road, are the ruins of a building that was originally constructed of squared stones, but of which nothing is now traceable except the general rectangular plan. The place is known by the name of Sarrûj, and is used by the people as a storing place for grain. Some Arabs who were here, occupied in cleaning corn, invited us to go on to a large encampment of their tribe, the Beni Hasan, which they pointed out in a hollow a mile further off. Here the black tents, fifteen in number, and of the largest size, were pitched in two lines facing east. On stopping to inquire and give the news, we were requested by the sheikh to administer relief to an unfortunate Arab who lay at the back of the tent suffering from failing breath, in what appeared the last stage of consumption, a disease that is said to be of no uncommon occurrence among the Bedouin. The case, however, as far as we could judge, was beyond the reach of medicine, and there was no physician among us, so with expressions of sympathy, and a few general directions as to the patient's comfort, we took leave and continued our way up over a hill to the south-east, from whence was overlooked a broad shallow valley, not unlike that in which is situated Jerâsh. This valley, the drainage of which is towards the north, runs up at a very slight gradient in a direction almost due south, for over six miles. It is called by the Bedouin of the Beni Hasan, Wâdy Khallâ, or Khallî, and affords good pasture to their herds, which find water at several shallow wells that occur in its bed. The sheep and goats that are here met with are of a remarkably fine breed, large in size and having heavy fleeces. The bell-weather of each flock is distinguished by a sort of crown of gaudily coloured feathers attached to the back of the neck just behind the ears, the wool in its neighbourhood being further dyed red with henna. As we proceeded up this valley, which is everywhere dotted with oak trees and thorn, there appeared a ruin on the right hand, high up the slope of the hills shutting in the valley from the west, where by our glasses we could perceive, as we thought, the remains of walls. It is known by the names of Khurbet-er-Rumanèh and Khurbet-el-Bireh, but being much pressed for time it was found impossible to visit the spot, which, further, our guide assured us, was at the present day but little more than a heap of stones. A short distance beyond, where we lost sight of the ruin, the valley takes a sharp turn to the right, and then back into a south-westerly direction, which following we soon after turned up into a branch wâdy coming in from the west, and happily came to the main encampment of the Beni Hasan, it being already two hours after midday. Here twenty-four long black tents, pitched in double row,

took up the whole of the floor of the wâdy, and to that of the sheikh, conspicuous by its superior size, we proceeded to pick our way over the tent ropes, and made ourselves the recipients of Bedouin hospitality.

First came the customary thimbleful of coffee—roasted, pounded, and boiled up in our presence; then followed a more substantial repast of excellent new Arab bread—resembling thick pancakes—which was seasoned by being dipped bit by bit in a bowl of melted butter; then coffee once more, and in an hour we were on our road again, having given our hosts the latest items of political news, and received from them in return minute directions as to the path. Returning back into the main wâdy, the track runs up it some little way, and then turning south-west crosses a low shoulder. From this point there is one road leading almost due west, up a wâdy, going direct to es Salt, while that towards Ammân keeps on in a south-westerly direction over the rolling country, and cuts across many minor wâdies that run down from the east. Near the point of bifurcation of these two roads there is a small clump of Butm or Terebinth trees, at the foot of which are lying the shafts of two broken columns. The larger of them is a monolith some 9 feet long, and is cut out of the piece in such a manner that the base, 4 feet high and about 2 feet in diameter, tapers down to the shaft of half this size, the whole being very neatly executed in white limestone. A mile further on again, where the road runs along the western slope of a shallow wâdy, we passed fragments of six more broken columns of about the same size as the above, but since no further trace of any temple or building was to be seen in the neighbourhood, one is lead to the supposition that these fragments have at some period been transported hither from the great centre of ruins at Yajûz. We were now travelling along a raised causeway, the remains of a Roman road, running over the undulating plain, which is covered here and there by patches of corn land, and after a couple of miles our horses began to stumble among stones of Yajûz: but as the sun had already gone down, archæology was out of the question, and it was necessary to discover, without further delay, the whereabouts of the Bedouin camp in which it was our intention to pass the night. Turning, therefore, off the road at right angles towards the west, a goatherd directed us to a slight depression in the plain where, after twenty minutes riding, we came suddenly on about a dozen tents of the Beni Adwân, and without unnecessary ceremony pressed ourselves on the hospitality of the somewhat surly sheikh. The night was bitterly cold, and, what between the wind and the fleas, and the extremely confiding nature of the ewes, who, for warmth's sake, were always trying to insinuate themselves beneath our blankets, sleep was fitful. Further, and as usual, till far into the night, our Arab friends discussed in strident tones politics and finance, for, as every traveller knows to his cost, these worthies have such a habit of sleeping at odd hours during the day, that at night being wakeful, they are sadly addicted to interminable discoursings. Discomfort only ceased with the dawn-chill, and, being up betimes, when the sun rose in splendour over the rolling uplands, here in most parts covered with the growth of a plant resembling heather, we were already on

our way back to the road into Yajûz, out of which we had turned the night before.

At the entrance of the ruins is a large clump of some of the finest Terebinth trees that ever I came across. In their immediate neighbourhood is a large Arab cemetery, the most prominent tomb of which is that of Nimr ibn Gobelân, a sheikh of the 'Adwân, whose death, according to the inscription on the headstone, took place A.H. 1238, *i.e.*, some sixty and odd years go. His memory is still held in awe among the Bedouin, as is proved by the numerous ploughs and other farm implements that lie round his tomb, left there for safe keeping, as in a sanctuary. One of the 'Adwân, our host of the previous night, who accompanied us a short distance on our journey, informed me that this spot is known under the name of A'deyl, and is considered distinct from Yajûz, the ruins of which extend from it eastwards for more than a mile. These ruins, now known by the Arabs under the above name, have been so fully described in their respective works by Mr. Oliphant and Dr. Merrill[1] that further details may be deemed superfluous. It is noteworthy, however, that all attempts at identification seem to have failed, although the extensive remains of carved Byzantine capitals, squared blocks, and the foundations of numerous edifices which crowd both sides of this broad upland valley would lead us to conclude that there must have existed here a very populous town during the Græco-Roman period. It may be worth noting that in the lists of the Arab geographers there is no mention of the name Yajûz; nor was there in the days of the Caliphate, so far as I can discover, any considerable town that agrees in point of situation with the site of these ruins. The caves with which the hill slopes are honeycombed are still used by the 'Adwân as granaries, but apparently no settled inhabitants are found in the neighbourhood.

After spending some time in riding in every direction over these interesting remains, and seeking in vain for anything in the way of an inscription or a date, we proceeded in a south-easterly direction, still over a rolling country that showed ever and anon patches of cultivation. The shallow wâdies that the track crosses for the most part run down towards the east, presumably into the depressed plain of El Bukeia; however, for some miles round the whole district here about is known under the name of Yajûz. Half-an-hour after leaving the ruins we passed a large nameless heap of disjointed but squared masonry, lying in the shade of some Butm trees growing on a hill slope facing the north. From here the path, turning up the wâdy towards the east, crosses some low hills, and finally surmounting the crest, leads down into a curiously long and narrow plain: apparently the bed of an ancient lake, as I should judge, analogous to that which once filled the depressed plain of El Bukeia, lying some miles over to the north-west of our present point. Wending down the slopes which, just before reaching the level, showed successive lines of pebbly beach and water-worn banks, we descended to the ancient lake bottom, here some 400 yards broad, and as even as a billiard table. The Arabs of the

[1] "Land of Gilead," p. 227, *et seq.* "East of the Jordan," p. 273, *et seq.*

Adwân call this tract of land Hemel Belka, and cultivate the rich alluvial soil in patches, raising crops of wheat and maize (*durra*). From the point we struck it, the plain extends for the distance of about a couple of miles due south, having an average breadth that might be estimated at a quarter of a mile, and then bears off in a south-easterly direction, draining down in all probability into the Zerkâ Valley, which, according to the maps, curves round towards it. Where the angle occurred we came up out of the narrow plain, and striking over the hills to the south-south-west passed another nameless ruin, where confused heaps of masonry are crowned by a few small, but most elegant, oval arches, which passed, once again we found ourselves on the upland plain that trends down south towards Ammân.

The land here, after the early rains, was undergoing the process of being ploughed and sown by the Fellahîn of the Beni Adwân. At one moment we could count above thirty yoke of oxen, and the wonted stillness was agreeably enlivened by the shouts of the ploughmen, who, in more than one case, were engaged in directing the capricious evolutions of camels that had been compelled to take the place of the more docile steers. Considering the ungainly size of the camels and the diminutive wooden plough to which they were so clumsily harnessed, it was assuredly a marvel of skill that the furrows ran in passably straight and parallel lines. The camels evidently loathed the business, and to judge by the objurgations of their drivers—who were continually calling heaven to witness that their (the camels') clumsiness was the natural consequence of a dissolute life and a disreputable ancestry,—the camel-men themselves were not enamoured of their job. For a considerable time we passed patch after patch being ploughed in this fashion, and riding over a treeless plateau at length struck back into the high road running south-east from Yajûz to 'Ammân, which we had left to our right in turning off to visit the ruins and the Hemel Belka. After this, very shortly came a rather steep wâdy in a cross direction, running due east, down which the path led, and in a few minutes more we found ourselves for the second time in the Valley of the Zerkâ, and the ruins of 'Ammân were before us.

In these notes, however, the ruins being fully described in all the guide books, it would be waste of time attempting to recall the wonders of Greek architecture that have hitherto lain peacefully entombed beyond the Jordan, but which are now given over by the Ottoman Government to be a habitation for Circassian colonists. At the house of one of these worthies, while being hospitably entertained with tea and new bread, I endeavoured, but in vain, to gain some information concerning the whereabouts of the curious subterranean city of Rahab that Mr. Oliphant, in "The Land of Gilead," reports having heard spoken of as existing in the country to the east of the Zerkâ. All we could learn was that some people had heard tell in stories of this place, but no one at 'Ammân had seen the spot or knew of its exact position. As confirming these somewhat vague notices, it may be, perhaps, worth while to draw attention to the account which Mokaddasi, in the beginning of the eleventh century A.D., gives of a remarkable

cavern in these parts. After describing 'Ammân, where he notes "the Castle of Goliath on a hill overlooking the city, and also the tomb of Uriyyâ (Uriah ?), over which stands a mosque,"[1] he continues: "About a farsakh (three miles) distant from 'Ammân, on the border of the desert, is the village of ar-Rakîm. Here is a cave with two gates, one small, one big, and they say that he who enters by the larger gate is unable to pass by the smaller. On the floor of the cavern are three tombs, concerning which Abul Fadl Muhammed ibn Mansur has related to me the following, on the authority of Abu Bekr ibn, &c.," and after giving his chain of authorities, which reaches back to 'Abd Allah, the son of the Khalif Omar, he reports how the Prophet had said that these were the tombs of certain pious men, who, seeking shelter from the rain, had entered this cave and been shut in by the fall of a rock which blocked up completely the entrance. The impediment, however, was miraculously removed by the hand of the Most High, on their calling to Heaven for aid, and every man conjuring the Almighty, and resting his claim on the virtue of some especially pious act performed in past times. The legend is here not to the purpose, and is besides too long to quote in extenso, it being merely another version of the story of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, whose adventures form the subject of a portion of the eighteenth chapter of the Koran; but as confirming the reported existence of some large cavern or underground city in the neighbourhood of 'Ammân, the account is curious, and it shows at how early a date such a report had obtained currency.

From 'Amman it was our intention to get across to Jerusalem, *viâ* Arâk el Emir, but since the route is well described in the invaluable Bædeker, no detail of distances and directions need here be given. Riding up the bank along the now diminutive stream of the Zerkâ, we passed an abundant spring that forms one of its sources, and climbing the northern side of the wâdy gained the treeless upland plain stretching westward. Over this, a ride of two hours brought us to the cleft of the Wâdy Sîr, a well-wooded ravine that drains into the Jordan Valley, and in which, but still some miles lower down, lie the remains known as 'Arâk el Emir. At the spot, where we left the bare upland plain to plunge into the green wâdy, the ruins known as Khurbet Sâr are but a short distance to the left, while across on the opposite side there were visible the mouths of several small caverns or chambers hollowed in the face of the cliff, and we noticed other specimens of these abodes of bygone anchorites in many places further down the gorge. Half-way down the steep path that leads into the dell there opens out a small plain, at present occupied by some Circassian families, who have built here a village of wattle and dab houses exactly similar to those that are met with in the neighbourhood of Tiflis. But we had to hurry on without visiting them, for the afternoon was waning.

The whole gorge of the Sîr is most beautifully wooded; two mills are turned by the stream that flows through it, and while its sides are almost

[1] Mokaddasi, *op cit.*, p. 175.

everywhere hidden by the dark foliage of the oaks and other forest trees, the margin of the brook is masked by a broad fringe of oleanders that grow here to a height of over 14 feet. In a little meadow, where the cliff on the right bank recedes from the water's edge, and about two miles above 'Arâk el Emir, there is a collection of Arab "circles," of a somewhat abnormal type. The stones are about a foot high, and form the perimeter of a circle that is roughly a couple of yards across. What is unusual, however, is that here the area surrounded by this low circular wall has been roofed over by laying branches rafter-wise, and filling in with straw, the whole being afterwards covered by a coat of clay. There was, as usual, a sort of doorway left in the circle of stones, and in the present instance it faced south. These little buildings have every appearance of being intended for habitations of some sort, only that while the extreme lowness of the roof and the small extent of the covered space would render the ingress of any human being an impossibility, the clean condition of the interiors showed that they were evidently not intended to serve as pens for lambs or other small quadrupeds. Further, our Arab guide immediately recognised them as marking the burial places of sheikhs, reminding us of the very similar, though unroofed circles which we had passed by in the hills on many previous occasions during our journey.

After riding down the Wâdy Sîr for nearly two hours, the path lying sometimes in the very bed of the pebbly brook, sometimes along the meadows which skirted its banks, and at times again threading the copses that overhung its winding course, we came out suddenly into the magnificent amphitheatre of hill-cliffs where is situated 'Arâk el Emir—said to be the remains of the palace which, according to Josephus, Hyrcanus built in 182 B.C., during the last days of his exile beyond the Jordan. In the main the description of the Jewish historian tallies well enough with what we find here of rock-cut caverns, and cyclopean masonry carved with forms of huge animals. It is, however, perhaps a point worth noting, and one that did not fail to strike me when I first came on the ruins of the Kusr-el-Abd, that while Josephus plainly states that Hyrcanus "built it entirely of *white* stone to the very roof, and had animals of a prodigious magnitude engraved thereupon," when we come to examine here the carved blocks, alongside of which the inquisitive traveller feels dwarfed to the dimensions of an insect, we find that they are all, without exception, cut out of stone most remarkably *black*. But as Josephus had himself never visited this place, the error is probably due to his having been misinformed by the hearsay report of contemporary tourists. The remains at 'Arâk el Emir, whatever may be their date, cannot fail to strike the traveller with somewhat of that same feeling of awe which he experiences on standing for the first time beside the huge stones at Baalbek, the platform of Persepolis, or the Egyptian Pyramids. Greek and Roman ruins are dwarfed into insignificance beside these, for they tell of an age when labour and time were held as of no account in the calculations of those who built for themselves such temples, palaces, or tombs. It was with difficulty that we tore ourselves away from these wonderful relics of a bygone civilization. But

already the sun was hiding behind the western hill, and while we were lingering in the artificial caverns high up in the cliff, they became shrouded in gloom, though the bold characters of the Hasmonean inscription on the rock above,—read "Adniah," and said to mean "Delight,"—still stood out distinct in the blush that was already dying from the face of the black masonry in the meadow below.

We had yet to beat up night quarters, and therefore scampering up the shoulder of the projecting spur shutting in the amphitheatre on the south, we crossed into a wâdy known as that of Umm el Madâris, and shortly coming across some homeward-bound cattle were directed by the neat-herd to the encampment of his tribe, the Beni 'Abbâd, located in an adjacent dell. We were now among the wâdies that lead down directly to the Jordan Valley, and just before coming to the tents, while riding over the crest of an intervening spur, suddenly there burst on us a most magnificent view of the Dead Sea, spread out apparently at our feet. From the height, its whole surface, as far as the eye could reach, appeared like a sheet of burnished gold about to become molten, under the rays of the setting sun, whose orb was fast vanishing behind the blue hills of the desert of Judæa; and below, in the foreground, was the opening out of the Jordan Valley, here some ten miles across—Jericho, as a patch of black green foliage, shining out distinct on the further side.

Although the Beni 'Abbâd were hospitable, and their carpets were tolerably free from vermin, the coldness of the night, and the continuous groaning of one of the men who had lately received a spear thrust in his leg, rendered our sleep but fitful. Besides, as usual, our hosts took up the best part of the night detailing their grievances to us, and requested our advice on the important point of how £100 might be obtained on loan to rid them of their enemies. It appeared that certain lands belonging from time immemorial to their tribe, for which, moreover, they held title deeds, had been by Government granted to, and were occupied by, the immigrant Circassians. We suggested that a petition forwarded with the title deeds to the Government would doubtless set matters right, but in reply we were assured that so doing, unless much bakhshîsh went with the papers, would only lead to the loss of the deeds without there being the smallest chance of the tribe obtaining any re-establishment in their rights. Cheaper than this, they said, it would be to bribe the Circassians to decamp and take up their quarters on somebody else's land, and for this purpose a hundred pounds were needed, which we, however, perforce, deeply regretted being unable to put them in the way of obtaining.

Next morning we were up before the sun, for there was the long ride into Jerusalem before us. Distances in the East, even after long practice, appear most deceptive, especially when looking from a height down and across a plain. The Jordan seemed almost at our feet, but it was four hours' good riding before we reached the ford and crossed the swirling muddy stream, which, even at this season, in some places rose above the horses' girths.

When leaving the mountains and riding between the last hill spurs out

into the Ghôr, I judge we must have passed within a short distance of Tell esh Shâghûr, which recent writers propose to identify with Segor, or Zoar, one of the Cities of the Plain. Dr. Merrill, who discusses the question of the site at some length,[1] concludes by stating that to his mind the arguments for placing the Zoar of Lot at the north end of the Dead Sea are convincing, adding, "We present here a few quotations from Arab writers which bear upon this question." But from these "quotations" I venture to think he deduces an erroneous conclusion, through not bearing in mind the fact that the narrow valley leading *south* from the Dead Sea towards the Gulf of Akabah was known to the Arabs as the Ghôr, and hence bears the same name as that applied by them to the Jordan Valley itself running up *north* from that lake.

Whatever may be concluded from the Bible as to the true position of the Zoar of the Pentateuch, a careful examination of the Arab geographers leads me to conclude that they, at least, stuck to the traditions preserved by Josephus, and followed by Eusebius and Jerome, which place Zoar or Segor to the south-east of the Dead Sea. This place, further, is identical with that frequently mentioned under the name Segor by the historians of the Crusades, and is found in many of the itineraries of the mediæval travellers. To the Arab geographers Zughar, the city of Lot, was as well known a place as Jerusalem or Damascus, seeing that the Dead Sea, more generally called by them Al Buhairah-al Muntinah, "The Stinking Lake," has also the alternative name of the Sea of Zughar. Further, it is evident that there were not, for these mediæval geographers, *two* Zughars, for in Yakut's Mushtarik, a Lexicon of Geographical Homonyms, which especially deals with cities of the same name but of different location, the name Zughar does not figure in the list. Turning now to Mokaddasi, who was himself a native of Palestine, and wrote during the century preceding the first Crusade, we find that Zughar (also spelt Sughar) is mentioned as being in his day the capital of the province of the Sharât[2] (which corresponds in general with the ancient Moab), and he cites it as the sole remaining city of Lot, "saved by reason that its inhabitants knew not of the abominations." As to its position, it is described as standing on (or near) the Dead Sea, with the mountains near about it;[3] while that it is to be sought at the south-eastern end of the Lake is shown by the statement that it is one marhalah (twenty-five miles—a day's march) distant from Maâb, a town situated in the desert to the east of Kerak; and four marhalahs from Wailah,[4] the port at the head of the Gulf of Akabah. Also Istakhri[5] and Ibn Haukal,[6] geographers of the generation preceding Mokaddasi, state that between Jericho and Zughar lay "a day's march," and in one case other MSS. give the alternative but

[1] "East of the Jordan," 233, *et seq.*
[2] Mokaddasi, *op. cit.*, p. 155.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 178.
[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 192, 249.
[5] Edit. de Goeje, p. 66.
[6] Edit. de Goeje, p. 126.

probably erroneous reading, "two days' march." At this epoch, that is, during the eleventh century A.D., Zughar was a place of considerable trade, famed for its indigo and dates, these last being of exquisite quality, and quoted as one among the eight kinds celebrated in all the countries of Islam.[1] On the other hand, the climate of Zughar was deadly, and its drinking water execrable, "hot even as though it were over hell fire,"[2] and later, when characterising the drinking water of Palestine as generally so excellent, Mokaddasi exclaims,[3] "but we take refuge in Allah from that of Zughar, though the water of Bait-er-Râm is in truth bad enough."

Turning now to the great Geographical Dictionary of Yakut, compiled in the early part of the thirteenth century A.D., we find two long articles, one under the heading Sughar, and another under the alternative pronunciation of Zughar.[4] After quoting the verse of a poet who sings of the "southern region of the Sharât from Maâb to Zughar," Yakut proceeds to give various traditions which connect the town with the history of Lot, and says that its name came to it from one of Lot's daughters. Finally it is stated that Zughar is situated in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea, in a wâdy; it being three days' journey from Jerusalem, and lying near the frontiers of the Hejâz.[5] Lastly, and not further to multiply quotations, the author of the Meracid, writing about a century after Yakut, after quoting his words as to the position of Zughar on, or near, the Dead Sea, adds that it lies near Kerak.[6]

In conclusion, therefore, and in opposition to Dr. Merrill, I find no authority among such of the Arab geographers as I have read for locating the Zughar or Zoar of their day anywhere but to the south-east of the Dead Sea. For, to sum up their indications, the city stood near the Dead Sea; one day's march from Maâb, the same from Jericho, and four from the head of the Gulf of Akabah; three days' march from Jerusalem, and near Kerak; from all of which it would appear impossible that a town across the Jordan opposite Jericho should be intended; while the assertion that the water at Sughar was execrable, of itself indicates that Tell esh Shâgûr, in the wâdy below Arâk el Emir, where excellent springs abound, can hardly be a satisfactory identification.

From the Jordan ford up to Jerusalem we rode along the beaten track that every Cook's tourist has followed. The ghastly barrenness of the country, and the glare from the chalky hills among which the road winds, renders this one of the most tedious bits of journeying in Palestine, and we were fortunate in being able to accomplish the ride from Jericho to Jerusalem in five hours. It is, however, worth while to come up this

[1] Mokaddasi, p. 470.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 178.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 184.

[4] Wustenfeld's Yakût, II, 933; III, 396. In the Arab geographers the name is found spelt صغر, Sughar; زغر, Zughar; and سقر, Sukar.

[5] *Op. cit.*, II, 934.

[6] "Meracid-el-Ittilâ," I, 514.

dreary road from the east to catch one's first sight of Jerusalem from the summit of the Mount of Olives. Arriving by the Jaffa road, the Holy City is hidden until you are almost within its gates, but from Bethany the pilgrim rides suddenly into view of this unique metropolis, which, in its entirety, lies spread out at his feet. The week's discomfort in Bedouin tents, and the monotonous ride of the last few hours, had, I think, attuned us all to a just pitch of appreciation, and although rather too hungry and weary for æsthetic raptures, it was some little time before we turned down through St. Stephen's Gate, and sought out our night quarters in the Damascus Hotel.

In concluding these notes, and for the information of those who may have any intention of penetrating into the countries beyond the Jordan, I may be permitted to remind my readers that our journey had been accomplished without paying a piastre to Goblân, the famous (or rather infamous) chief of the 'Adwân, or even in any way gratifying the cupidity of the Sheikh of Sûf—both worthies generally but too well known to those who have left Jerusalem for a trip into the Land of Gilead. And yet we had been able, in the course of six days, to visit the sites of Tabakat Fahl (Pella), Jerâsh, 'Ammân, and 'Arâk el Emir, taking the direct route across country from one site to another, and along roads seldom seen by the ordinary tourist. The secret of our successful raid—for so only can I venture to call it—lay in the fact that, taking neither tents nor servants, we were but three horsemen mounted on inelegant hacks, more useful as roadsters than in any way remarkable for breed, and that one of us was a native of the country, personally acquainted with the Arab sheikhs of the district which it was intended to visit. Lastly, as we took no more baggage than our horses could carry, we, in accordance with that ancient and convenient custom of the Arabs, imposed ourselves nightly as guests in some nomad camp, coming down at the hair-tent of the sheikh, whose honour, forthwith, was engaged for our personal well-being and safety. By this proceeding we avoided the necessity of carrying with us provisions for the road, and dispensed with a baggage animal: and hence our appearance was in no way calculated to excite the cupidity of those whom we met in our journey.

The presence of tents and baggage mules, with the attendant dragoman and zaptieh, are plentiful reasons to explain the costliness of which travellers complain who cross the Jordan and go eastward from the Dead Sea. Any one who is lucky enough to get a native friend for companion, who can keep his own counsel, and wants no escort of zaptiehs, can almost always visit any part of the country beyond the Jordan at very little risk. Only his stay must be so little protracted that the authorities get no news of it, and for this short time the traveller must be content with the nourishment of Arab fare, and such repose as is to be obtained on the hard earth under an Arab tent, where hospitality is alike provided for vermin and for men.

46, Charles Street, Mayfair,
London, *May*, 1885.

NOTES.

I. A Dolmen in Judæa.

Having had occasion recently to ride from Jericho to Nablus, I decided to try and take a short cut from Khurbet 'Aûjah el Fôka (Sheet 15, O *r*) to El Mugheir (Sheet 15, N *q*). It will be seen by a reference to the map that there is no path marked, and that the region to be traversed is a desolate tract, upon which no habitations are indicated. It occurred to me that I might chance to stumble across something of interest in this deserted district, and such in fact proved to be the case. A peasant whom I picked up, tilling his land in the Wâdy el Aujah, consented to serve as a guide, but said that he doubted whether the route would prove practicable on horseback. The ascent from the valley of the Jordan for the first 1,500 or 1,800 feet was one which did indeed tax my horse's powers to the utmost, even without a rider, as it involved a climb by a scarcely perceptible goat path, now up smooth steep inclines of limestone, now over jagged rocks. I then traversed for a distance of about five miles or more, taking the windings of our way into consideration, the wildest and most barren tract imaginable of rocky tableland, here and there intersected by deep wâdies, offering from time to time views of considerable scenic grandeur, and in a north-easterly direction up the Jordan Valley, of great extent. Beyond this there was nothing to vary the monotony of ruggedness, and rarely an indication of a path, the guide simply selecting the line of country which seemed most practicable for my horse. It was while indulging in regrets at having ventured on an experiment which seemed likely to prove so uninteresting, that I made a discovery which afforded me some consolation. On the side of a bare hill I came upon four slabs of stone, which from their size and shape presented all the appearance of being the component slabs of an overturned dolmen—one, which was larger than the others, being about 9 feet by 5 feet, formed in all probability the covering slab. As I am not aware of any dolmen, or remains of one, having been found in Judæa, this would confirm the theory that they once existed there, but that the two Tribes were so scrupulous in their obedience to the order "to overturn the tables of stone," that traces of them have hitherto escaped observation. It is possible that a minute examination of this section of country would reveal interesting remains of early rude stone monuments. I roughly took the bearings of the spot by compass, but the whole place is such a wilderness of rocks that I doubt whether I could find it again. About half-a-mile distant from it I found another evidence of a most ancient period. This consisted of a square enclosure 24 yards each way, formed of huge unhewn blocks of stone, each of a ton weight or more, remaining in position to a height of three courses in some places, in others of two. Within this outer massive enclosure there was a circle formed of smaller stones, 12 feet in diameter, and in the centre of this circle was a single stone, but this consisted now of a large splintered fragment about 3 feet high, and it was difficult to form from it an idea of the original shape of the stone. There were also in the neighbourhood what

appeared to be alignments of stones, and numerous cairns. The spot, as nearly as I can judge, is about two miles to the south-east of El Mugheir. Near that place there is a very good Arab stone circle, with a miniature doorway about 2 feet high, and a horizontal club or lintel, facing west.

II. A Sarcophagus at Zimmârîn.

A few days ago the Jews of the colony of Zimmârîn, in excavating at the base of what appeared to be an artificial mound, suddenly struck a block of cement. Further investigation proved it to be a portion of a thick coating of that material, in which a leaden sarcophagus had been embedded. This was extracted and opened, and found to contain the bones of a human skeleton, and a quantity of dust, which was described to me by a colonist who had seen it as having the appearance of dust mixed with shining particles, which to his imagination resembled gold dust. I have had no opportunity of examining any of this dust, some of which is said still to have been preserved at Zimmârîn, where more accurate information could be obtained as to what actually was found in the coffin, about which there are conflicting accounts. On rumours of the discovery reaching the Caimakam here, he sent to have the sarcophagus brought to this place, where I have examined it. It weighs 250 pounds, is 6 feet 8 inches long, and 1 foot 8 inches in width. Down the whole length of the centre of the lid is an ornamental scroll $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, including the narrow bands which border the design. This is very beautifully executed, and consists of a representation of grape vines, with fruit and leaves and other floral devices. All round the upper edge of the sides of the coffin is a similar border, but it is nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide. The artist has avoided repeating himself, and has varied the design, which is in a good state of preservation, so that no two sections of it are similar. The leaden bottom is in places much corroded.

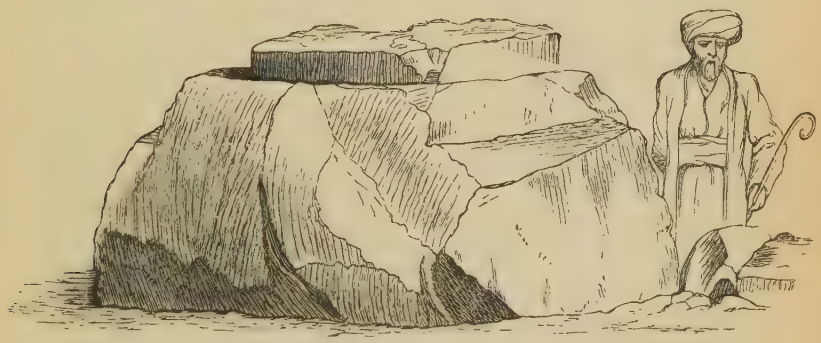
In accordance with the general order regulating the discovery of antiquities, this sarcophagus will be sent to Constantinople. I have every reason to believe, however, that the mound in which it was found contains more, and I hope to be present in the event of further excavations in it taking place, when I shall also have an opportunity of examining the dust which has been already found.

Laurence Oliphant.

THE ROCK ALTAR OF ZORAH.

About two years ago Herr Baurath Schick discovered at a deserted site called Marmeta, situated about a mile to the *east* of the Jewish Refugee Aid Society's settlement at 'Artûf, a remarkable monolith which he believed to be the remains of an old altar.

Some days ago, whilst at 'Artûf, I happened, incidentally, to hear from one of the settlers that another such stone had been recently noticed

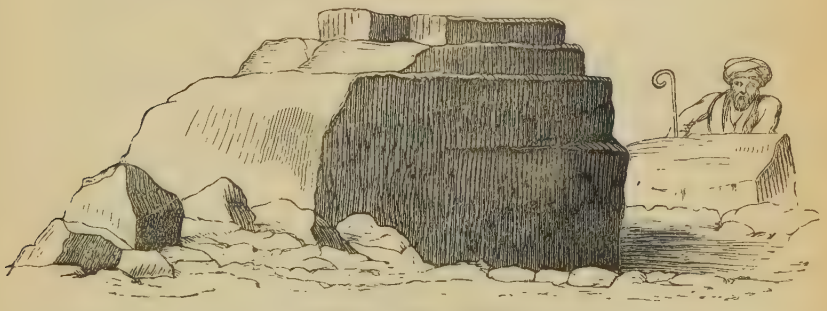


ALTAR AS SEEN FROM N.W.

on a hill-side to the *west* of 'Artûf, and during the afternoon of Friday, May 8th, 1885, I visited the place with Baron von Ustinoff.

Our delight at discovering at the spot indicated a battered and weather-worn but otherwise well-preserved *rock-altar* with *steps* may be imagined.

It has on the top hollows connected by grooves like Mr. Schick's Marmîtah stone. The top is at present from four to five feet above



ALTAR AS SEEN FROM S.E.

ground, but as some heavy blocks of stone which we could not move lie round its base it would not be safe to state any measurements till these and the earth at its base be cleared away.

Zorah, now called Sŭrah, the home of Manoah and the birth-place of Samson, is in full view of the spot, at a distance (measuring on an air-line) of, say, a quarter of a mile. Whether or not this remarkable monument be the identical rock-altar of Manoah (Judges xiii, 19, 20), its existence in such a suggestive situation cannot, I think, fail to rouse the interest of Bible readers.

I am, Sir, yours truly,

J. E. Hanauer.

THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME *EN ROGEL.*

Sir,

Without presuming to express any opinion on the probable correctness of C. R. C.'s suggestion that the name *En Rogel* means "the Spring of the Channel," I wish to point out that in writing the last two lines of his note on the subject in *Quarterly Statement*, January, p. 20, *Jove must have been nodding;* for in making the statement that "the name is evidently derived from the famous rock-cut channel leading from the back of the cave in which the spring rises," C. R. C. has evidently overlooked the fact that *all* the passages in which the name occurs relate to a time antecedent to the earliest date hitherto assigned to the rock-cut channel, and two of them mention the name En Rogel as existing in *the time of Joshua.* Or does C. R. C. really mean to imply that "the famous rock-cut channel" was in existence in Joshua's time?

If not, then the *name* cannot be derived from the *underground* channel.

Perhaps it came from the surface channel whose prior existence is so earnestly contended for by the Rev. W. F. Birch?

H. B. S. W

BETH HABBECHEREH, OR THE CHOSEN HOUSE—

continued.

CHAPTER VI.

1. The whole Sanctuary was not on level ground, but on the rising of the mountain. A person entering at the eastern gate[1] of the mountain of the

[1] Rashi commenting upon the passage "no man might indulge in any levity opposite the eastern gate," remarks that this gate was "outside the mountain of the house, in the low wall which was at the foot of the house, on the east, because all the gates were set one opposite the other, the eastern gate, the

house went as far as the end of the rampart (*chel*) on a level, and ascended from the *chel* to the court of the women by twelve steps, the height of each step *being* half a cubit and the breadth half a cubit.

2. And he went along the whole court of the women on a level, and ascended from it to the court of Israel, which was the beginning of the "court," by fifteen steps, the height of each step *being* half a cubit, and the breadth half a cubit.

3. And he went along the whole court of Israel on a level and ascended from it to the court of the priests by a step a cubit high, and upon this was the *dochan* [or desk], *and* in it three steps, the height of each step *being* half a cubit and the breadth half a cubit, so that the court of the priests was two and a half cubits higher than that of Israel.

4. And he went across the whole court of the priests, and past the altar, and between the porch and the altar on a level, and ascended thence to the porch by twelve steps, the height of each step being half a cubit and the breadth half a cubit. And the porch and the Temple (היכל) were all on a level.

5. The floor of the Temple was therefore twenty-two cubits higher than the floor of the eastern gate of the mountain of the house. And the height of the gate of the mountain of the house was twenty cubits, so that a person standing opposite the eastern gate could not see the door of the Temple, and on this account they made the wall which was above that gate low, in order that the priest standing on the Mount of Olives might see the door of the Temple when sprinkling the blood of the heifer towards the Temple.

6. There were there chambers under the court of Israel opening to the court of the women, and there the Levites placed the harps, psalteries, cymbals, and all instruments of music. And upon the *dochan* [pulpit], which went up from the court of Israel to the court of the priests, the Levites stood when they recited songs at the time of the offering.[2]

7. The chambers that were built in the holy part and opened into the profane, if their roofs were even with the floor of the court their interior

gate of the court of the women, the gate of the court of Israel, the doorway of the porch and the temple היכל, and the Holy of Holies in the days of the first Sanctuary, when there was *between the holy place and the most holy*, טרקסין, a partition wall of one cubit (Berachoth 54 *a*). The question whether there were steps up to the eastern gate from the outside or from the gate to the mountain of the house on the inside is not touched by this account of Maimonides. He supposes a person to start from the inner side of the eastern gate, being already on the paved floor of the mountain of the house.

[2] The contents of these paragraphs are from Middoth i, 3; ii, 3, 4, 5, 6, and iii, 6. The *dochan*, דוכן, *suggestum*, was a kind of bench with steps, upon which the Levites or priests stood to sing or read or pronounce the blessing (*cf.* Nehem. viii, 4; Esdras i, 9, 42; Eruchin ii, 6; Sotah 38 *b*). In the modern synagogue the bench in front of the cupboard, where the rolls of the Law are deposited, upon which the priest stands to say the blessing, is still called *dochan*. (See Rubric for the Daily Service and the Service of Rosh Hashshannah.)

was profane and their roofs holy, and if not even *with the court* their roofs also were profane, because the roofs that were raised *above the court* were not hallowed, and hence they might not eat the most holy offerings nor slaughter the less holy upon those roofs.

8. If built in the profane *part* and opening to the holy, their interior was holy for eating the most holy things, but they did not slaughter there the less holy, and the entering there when in a state of ceremonial impurity was permitted, and their roofs were profane for all purposes.

9. Cavities [interiors] opening to the court were holy, and those opening to the mountain of the house profane.[3] The windows and the thickness [*i.e.*, the top] of the wall were like the inside,[4] both with reference to eating the most holy offerings and with reference to impurity.

10. If the consistory[5] desired to add to *the city of* Jerusalem, or to add to the court, they had power to do so. And they might extend the court as far as they chose within the mountain of the house, and extend the wall of Jerusalem to any place they chose.

11. *But* they might not add to the city or to the court, except with the authority of the king, or of a prophet, or by Urim and Thummim, or with the authority of the Sanhedrim of seventy-one elders, as it is said (Exodus xxv, 9), "according to all that I show thee, . . . even so shall ye make *it*," for *future* generations, and Moses our master was a king.[6]

12. And how did they add to the city?[7] The consistory made two

[3] The question of the holiness of the chambers, roofs, &c., is discussed in M'aasa Shene iii, 8; Pesachim vii, 12; the Gamara of the latter (85 *b*, 86 *a*), and Zevachim 56 *a*. See also Yoma 25 *a*.

[4] This passage is from the Mishna of Pesachim vii, 12, where (according to Rashi and others) it has reference to the wall of Jerusalem, but the Gamara connects it with the *chel*, and quotes Lam. ii, 8, "he made the rampart and the wall to lament." "The wall," says Maimonides, "was the wall of the court" (*vide supra*, v, 3). The Bar Sorah, בר שורא, "son of a wall," is explained by Rashi to have been "a little wall inside the great wall, and on a level with the court." This little wall was doubtless that alluded to by R. Solomon, on Lam. ii, 8, as connected with the *chel* (Lightfoot 1089). The expression in the Gamara (Pesachim 86 *a*) is שורה יבר שורה, "a wall, and the son of a wall," and lends support to the opinion expressed in a former note that the *chel* may have had a rampart and low wall outside the wall of the court. The subject has here reference to the rules forbidding the most holy sacrifices, the less holy sacrifices, and the Paschal Lamb to be eaten if carried beyond certain prescribed limits (*vide infra*, 15). "As anything which should be eaten in Jerusalem became unlawful if taken out of it, so anything which should be eaten in the court became unlawful if taken out of it" (Sheanoth 15 *a*).

[5] Beth Din, בית דין, "House of Judgment."

[6] Sanhedrin i, 5, and 16 *b*; Shevuoth ii, 2, and 16 *b*.

[7] Shevuoth ii, 2. "They added to the city in no other way than . . . . by two thank-offerings, and by music, and by the Beth Din going *in procession*, with the two thank-offerings behind them, and all Israel behind them (the thank-offerings). The inner thank-offering was eaten, the outer burned." The

thank-offerings, and took the leavened bread which belonged to them (Lev. vii, 13), and walked *in procession*, the consistory being behind the two thank-offerings and the two thank-offerings one behind the other, and they stood with harps, and psalteries, and cymbals at every corner, and at every *large* stone which was in Jerusalem, and chanted "I will extol thee, O Lord; for thou hast lifted me up" &c.[8] (Psalm xxx, 1), *and thus they went* until they reached the end of the place which they consecrated, where they stood and ate the bread of one of the two thank-offerings, and the other was burned. And by the mouth of a prophet they burned the one, and ate the other.[9]

13. Likewise if they added to the court, they hallowed it with the remains of the meat-offering. As the *city of* Jerusalem was hallowed by the thank-offering, which was eaten in it, so the court was hallowed by the remains of the meat-offerings, which could not be eaten elsewhere than in it, and they ate them at the end of the place which they hallowed.[10]

14. Every place in the dedication of which all these things and this order were not observed was not completely dedicated. And the two thank-offerings which Ezra made were *merely* a memorial, and the place did not become hallowed by what he did, because there was neither king nor Urim and Thummim. And by what did it become hallowed? By the first dedication which Solomon made, because he consecrated the court (1 Kings viii, 64) and Jerusalem both for that time and for the time to come.[11]

15. Therefore they offered all the offerings, even though there was no house built there, and they ate the most holy things in all the court, even though it was destroyed and not surrounded by a wall, and they ate the less holy things and the second tithes in all Jerusalem, even though there were no walls there, because the first consecration hallowed *both* for that time and for the time to come.[12]

16. And why do I say in reference to the Sanctuary and Jerusalem, that the first dedication hallowed for the time to come, and in reference to the hallowing of the rest of the land of Israel, for the purposes of the

arrangement of the procession is discussed in the Gamara (15 *b*). It is doubted whether the thank-offerings went side by side, or one behind the other: if side by side, the inner one was that next the wall; if one behind the other, the inner one was that next the consistory.

[8] In Shevuoth 15 *b*, from which this passage is taken, the word גדולה, *large*, occurs after stone, but is wanting in Maimonides, probably from an error of the transcribers.

[9] *Ib.* 16 *a*. R. Judah said "by the mouth of a prophet *one* was eaten, and by the mouth of a prophet *one* was burned." The meaning is that a prophet instructed them which to eat and which to burn.

[10] Shevuoth 15 *a*. Rashi notes that the remains of the meat-offering, מנחה, were the cakes which were to be eaten by the priests (Lev. ii, 3, 4, 10).

[11] Shevuoth 16 *a*.

[12] *Ib.* Edioth 14 *a*; Megillah 10 *a*; Zevach. 107 *b*. The Rabbis disputed much as to the perpetuity of the first consecration.

seventh years and tithes and things connected with them, it did not hallow for the time to come? Because the hallowing of the Sanctuary, and of Jerusalem, was on account of the Shekinah, and the Shekinah did not cease. And lo, it says "I will bring your sanctuaries unto desolation" (Lev. xxvi, 31); and the wise men say that notwithstanding that they were desolated, *yet* in respect of their holiness they were yet standing.[13] But the obligations of the land in reference to the seventh years and the tithes were only because it had been subjugated, and after the land was taken from their hands the subjugation ceased, and it became free from the law of tithes and seventh years, for lo, it was no longer the land of Israel. And when Ezra came up and hallowed it, he did not hallow it by subjugation, but by the right of possession, which they had in it, and therefore every place of which those who came up from Babylon had possession, and which was hallowed by the second hallowing of Ezra, that *remains* hallowed *to* this day, and notwithstanding that the land has been taken from them, it is still liable in respect of seventh years and tithes, for the reasons which we have explained in the treatise "Terumah" (offering).

CHAPTER VII.

1. It is an affirmative command to reverence the Sanctuary, as it is said "ye shall reverence My Sanctuary" (Lev. xix, 30). And not the Sanctuary shalt thou reverence, but Him who gave commandment that it should be reverenced.[1]

2. And what was the reverence due to it? A man might not enter the mountain of the house[2] with his staff, or with shoes upon his feet, or with his girdle,[3] or with dust upon his feet, or with money bound in his

[13] Megillah iii, 3, 28 *a*.

[1] Yevamoth, 6 *a*, *b*.

[2] Yevam. 6 *a*, *b*; Berachoth 5 and 62 *b*; Yeruschal Berach xiii, *a*, *b*, 1.

[3] באפונדתו. The Mishna of Berachoth (ix, 5) and Yevamoth 6 *b*, have בפונדתו. The fundah, פונדא פונדה or אפונדה, is frequently mentioned in the Talmud. In Shabbath 120 *a* it is enumerated amongst the eighteen garments which it is lawful to put on or off on the Sabbath. In the gloss on Kelim xxix, 1 (*cf.* Bartenora), it is explained to be an under garment worn next the skin to guard the other garments against the perspiration; and Baal Aruch says אפונדה was "an article of dress, a small shirt in which were sewn many places where they put anything they met with," and from Shabbath x, 2, it appears to have been either a bag or some piece of clothing furnished with one or more pockets. Rashi thought it was "a hollow girdle in which they put money." The expression in the Jerusalem Talmud (Berachoth xiii, *b* 1), that a person might not enter the mountain of the house, אפונדתו עליו מבחוץ, "his *fundah* being on him outside," is suggestive of an outer garment of some kind. It may have been a jacket or spencer worn over the other clothing, or a girdle in which money and other articles were carried, like the *kamar*, كمر, of the modern inhabitants of

linen. And it is unnecessary to say, that it was unlawful to spit in all the mountain of the house, but if one should be obliged to spit, he must do so in his garment. And one might not make the mountain of the house a thoroughfare,[4] entering at one gate, and going out at an opposite one in order to shorten the way, but go round on the outside, and not enter, except for religious purposes.

3. All who entered the mountain of the house entered on the right hand, and went round and passed out on the left, except one to whom an accident happened, who turned to the left. Wherefore they asked him, "what ails thee that thou turnest to the left?" "Because I am mourning." "May He who dwelleth in this house, comfort thee." "Because I am excommunicated." "May He who dwelleth in this house, put into thy heart, that thou mayest listen to the words of thy fellows, that may restore thee."[5]

4. When a man had finished his service and was leaving, he did not go out with his back to the Temple, but walked backwards slowly and went gently sideways,[6] until he issued from the court, and so likewise the watchers and standing men, and Levites from their pulpit, דוכן, went out from the Sanctuary like a person stepping backwards after prayers;[7] all which was to show reverence to the Sanctuary.[8]

5. One might not indulge in levity[9] opposite the eastern gate[10] of the court, which was the gate Nicanor, because it was set opposite the Holy of Holies. And every one who entered the court must walk gently in the place where it was lawful for him to enter, and demean himself reverently as became one standing before Jehovah, as is said "mine eyes and my heart shall be there perpetually" (1 Kings ix, 3), and he went with

Palestine. The word has been supposed to be derived from *επενδυτης* (John xxi, 7), translated in the A.V. a "fisher's coat." The meaning of the passage which Maimonides has here taken from Berachoth (Jerus. and Bab.) is that no worshipper might enter the mountain of the house either with his girdle or other garment in which he carried his money upon him, or with his money tied in a corner of his linen garments, a custom very common amongst the natives of the country at the present day.

The word for "linen" is סדין, translated in the A.V. (Isaiah iii, 23) "fine linen." The English word "satin" is derived from it.

[4] Megillah iii, 3, and the Gamara 29 *a*, where it is said of a synagogue that a קפנדריא, *a short way*, may not be made through it.

[5] Middoth ii, 2.

[6] That is, he must walk differently from his ordinary mode of walking (R. Abraham).

[7] As the custom of the Jews now is.

[8] Yoma 53 *a*.

[9] Literally, might not raise his head in lightness.

[10] Berachoth ix, 5. "One might not raise his head lightly opposite the eastern gate, because it was set opposite the Holy of Holies." Rashi remarks that it was the eastern gate of the mountain of the house. See Note on vi, 1.

fear and reverence, and trembling, as is said, "we walked in the house of God in tumult" (A.V. *in company*, Psalm lv, 14).

6. It was unlawful for anyone to sit in any part of the court. No one had the right of sitting in the court, except kings of the house of David only,[11] as it is said "and David the king came and sat before the Lord" (1 Chron. xvii, 16). And the Sanhedrim who sat in the chamber Gazith sat only in the profane half.[12]

7. And although the Sanctuary is now desolated, on account of our sins, one is still bound to reverence it, as was the custom when it was yet standing. One may not enter except where it was then lawful for him to enter, and may not sit in the court, nor raise his head lightly opposite the eastern gate, as is said, "ye shall keep my Sabbaths and reverence my Sanctuary" (Lev. xix, 30): as the keeping of the Sabbath is perpetual, so likewise the reverencing of the Sanctuary is perpetual,[13] and notwithstanding that it has been desolated, in respect of its holiness it is still standing.

8. At the time when the Sanctuary was standing[14] it was unlawful for a man to raise his head lightly from the *place called* TSOFIM (which was outside of Jerusalem), and inwards, and whoever could see the Sanctuary with no wall intervening between him and it.[15]

9. It was unlawful for a man ever *evacuare alvum*, or to sleep between

[11] Tamid 27 *a*; Sotah 41 *b*; Yoma 25 *a*; Kedushin 78 *b*; Sanhedrin 101 *b*. In the latter place it is "Kings of the House of Judah." It was customary for the king to sit in a pulpit erected for him in the court of the women when reading a portion of the Law to the people towards the end of the first holy day of the Feast of Tabernacles at the termination of the seventh year. It is related (Sotah vii, 8) that King Agrippa "read standing, and the wise men praised him for so doing, and when he came to 'thou mayest not set a stranger over thee,' his eyes overflowed with tears (because he was not a true Israelite), and they said to him, 'fear not Agrippa! thou art our brother! thou art our brother!'" (because his mother was of the seed of Israel), *cf. Sifri*, שופטים, 105 *b*.

[12] Yoma 25 *a*. The elders sat in the western half which opened into the *chel*, חיל, and was consequently profane.

[13] Yevamoth 6 *b*; *cf.* Megillah iii, 3, and 28 *b*.

[14] בנוי, built.

[15] "Tsofim was a place from which they could see the mountain of the house, and from beyond which they could not see it" (Tosefoth Berachoth 61 *b*; *cf.* Pesachim iii, 8). "A person who went out of Jerusalem and remembered that he had with him holy flesh, if he had passed *tsofim* he burned it in the place where he was." Rashi on this passage remarks that *tsofim* was the "name of a village, שם כפר, from which one could see the Sanctuary." "What was tsofim? Seeing with nothing intervening. Every place around Jerusalem from which one could see the Sanctuary" (Tosefoth Pesach. 49 *a*). The word is from the root, צָפָה, to look around, to watch (whence מצפה, *mizpah*, a watch tower). The Greek *σκοπη* is its exact equivalent. Doubtless the hill called Scopus, north of Jerusalem, is one of the places here referred to. There was a place called Tsofim famous for its honey (Sotah ix, 12).

east and west ;[16] and it is unnecessary to say that they did not erect a privy between east and west in any place, because the Temple was on the west. Therefore they did not ease nature *with the face* to the west, or to the east, because that is opposite the west, but they relieved nature and slept between north and south. And every one passing water from the *tsofim* and inwards, did not sit with his face towards the Temple, but to the north or to the south, or placed the Temple at his side.[17]

10. And it was unlawful for a man to make a house after the pattern of the Temple, an *exhedra* after the pattern of the porch, a court resembling the court, a table of the form of the table of *shewbread* or a candlestick of the form of the candlestick. But he might make a candlestick of five branches, or of eight branches, or a candlestick of seven branches, provided it was not of metal.[18]

11. There were three camps in the wilderness : the camp of Israel, which included four camps ; the camp of Levi, of whom it is said "they shall encamp round about the tabernacle" (Numbers i, 50), and the camp of the Divine Presence (Shekinah, שכינה), which was from the door of the court of the tent of the congregation inwards. And corresponding to them from the gate of Jerusalem to the mountain of the house *was* like the camp of Israel ; from the gate of the mountain of the house to the gate of the court, which was the gate Nicanor, *was* like the camp of Levi ; and from the gate of the court and inwards *was like* the camp of the Divine Presence. And the rampart (*chel*) and the court of the women were an additional excellence of the eternal house.[19]

12. The whole of the land of Israel was more holy than all other lands. And what was its holiness? That they brought from it the sheaf, and the two leaves, and the first fruits, which they did not bring from other lands.[20]

13. There are ten holinesses to the land of Israel, the one higher than the other. Cities *in it* surrounded by walls were more holy than the rest of the land, because they sent away the lepers out of them, and they did not bury the dead in them unless seven good men of the city, or all the men of the city, desired it. And if a corpse had been carried out of the

[16] That is, with his face to the east and his back to the west, or the reverse.

[17] Berachoth 62 *a* ; Berach.-Yerushal 13, *a* 2, and 61 (60 *a*).

[18] Avodah Zarah 43 *a*. It is doubtful whether it was lawful to make a candlestick of seven branches, even though of wood. R. Jose bar Jehudah said it was not lawful, because the Asamoneans had made one of that material for the Temple. Maimonides gives what he considers to be the decision. His words are עושה . . . . . מנורה שאינה של מתכת אפ"ע שיש לה שבעה קנים, literally, "a candlestick which was not of metal even though there were in it seven branches." The Talmud allows a candlestick of six branches (*loc. cit.*).

[19] Zevachim 116 *b* ; Tosefta Kelim 1 ; *cf.* R. Shimson in Kelim5 *b*. Also Maim. on the same passage ; Rashi in Sanhedrim 42 *b*. The meaning of the last sentence is, that there was nothing in the camp in the wilderness corresponding to the rampart and court of the women in the Temple.

[20] Kelim i, 6 ; *cf.* Levit. xxiii, 10, 17.

city they might not take it back again, even though all should desire to take it back. Should the inhabitants of the city desire to remove a tomb to without the city, they might remove it, and all tombs might be removed except the tomb of a prophet or a king. A tomb which the city surrounded, whether on four sides or two sides, one opposite to the other, if there was between it and the city more than fifty cubits on this side and fifty cubits on that side, they did not remove it unless all desired *its removal;* if less than that they might remove it *without* the sanction of all.[21]

14. Jerusalem was more holy than other walled cities, because they ate the lesser holy offerings and the second tithes within its walls.[22] And these things are spoken of Jerusalem: they did not allow a dead body to remain all night in it, they did not carry human bones through it, and did not let out houses nor give a place to a sojourning proselyte in it. Also they did not erect tombs in it, except the tombs of the house of David, and the tomb of Huldah, which were there from the day of the former prophets. They did not plant gardens or orchards in it, nor was it sown or ploughed lest it should stink. They did not raise trees in it except the gardens of roses, which had been there from the times of the former prophets, and they did not place dunghills in it, on account of creeping things. They did not make beams or balconies projecting into the public streets on account of the tent of defilement, and did not make furnaces in it on account of the smoke.[23] They did not nourish cocks in it on account of the holy things,

[21] Kelim, i, 7, and the notes of R. Shimson and Maimonides; Jerus. Nazir 57, *b* 2; Tosefta Baba Bathia, 274 *b*. Rabbi Akibah maintained that the tombs of kings and prophets might be removed (*vide infra*). The Jerus. Talmud and the Tosefta allow tombs to be removed if surrounded on four, three, or two sides by the city, and the distance given in the former (Nazir, *loc. cit.*) is seventy cubits and two-thirds of a cubit (Abal Rabathy 14). R. Abraham raises an objection to the opinion of Maimonides that if seven good men of the city desired it, a dead body might be buried within the walls, and says that they did not bury in the cities, but might carry a corpse about the city to do honour to it and increase the mourning, and this latter opinion is supported by the Mishna (*loc. cit.*), מסבבין לתוכן מת.

[22] Kelim i, 8, and the gloss of R. Shimson.

[23] Baba Kama 82 *b*; Yoma 12 *a*; Negaim xii, 4; Tosefta Negaim, 6; Megillah 26 *a*. The reason why Jerusalem could not become unclean from leprosy is that it was not divided among the tribes, and was therefore like cities out of the land of Israel (Negaim, *loc. cit.*); but Rabbi Judah disputed this opinion, urging the tradition that part of the mountain of the house was in the tribe of Judah and part in Benjamin. The tombs of the house of David and of Huldah the prophetess are spoken of in Jerush.-Nazir 57, *b* 2; Tosefta Negaim 6, Tosefta Baba Bathra 274, Avoth Rabbi Nathan 35. R. Akibah said that there was a hollow way or tunnel, מחילה, to these tombs, by which the "uncleanness" was conducted out to the valley of Kedron, and that because of the existence of this the tombs were allowed to remain in opposition to the general law, which, according to him, permitted or required the removal of the tombs of kings and

and also in all the land of Israel the priests might not nourish cocks on account of purity.[24] And there was in it no house for persons condemned as lepers, and it did not become unclean from leprosy. It did not become a city cursed for idolatry, and did not furnish a heifer to be beheaded because it was not divided among the tribes.

15. The mountain of the house was more holy than it (Jerusalem), because men and women that had fluxes, and women at the time of their separation, and after childbirth, could not enter there.[25] It was permitted to take a dead body itself into the mountain of the house, and it is therefore unnecessary to say that a person defiled by contact with the dead might enter there.[26]

16. The rampart (*chel*) was more holy than *the mountain of the House*, because Gentiles and persons defiled by contact with the dead or to whom a certain impurity had happened[27] might not enter there.[28]

17. The court of the women was more holy than the rampart because טבול יום, *tibbul youm* (a person who required washing and the sun going down to purify him from an uncleanness, and who had washed and was awaiting the going down of the sun), might not enter there.[29] And this prohibition is from the words of *the wise men*, but by the Law, התורה it was permitted to a *tibbul youm* to enter the camp of Levi.[30] And if a person defiled by contact with the dead entered the court of the women, he was not obliged to offer a sin offering.

18. The court of Israel was more holy than the court of the women, because מחסרי כפורים, a person whose atonement had not been made after his cleansing from an uncleanness might not enter there.[31] And an

prophets out of the city. (Tosefta, *loc cit.*, Magin Abraham appended to the Tosefta; *cf.* Tosefoth Berachoth 19 *b*, middle of page רוב ארונות.) The sum of the Jewish traditions in reference to these tombs appears to be—(1) that they remained and their locality was known up to the time of the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus (*cf.* Acts ii, 29); (2) that they were within the city; and (3) that they were so situated that a tunnel or gallery or pipe could pass from them to the valley of the Kedron. A garden of roses at Jerusalem is mentioned in Maaseroth ii, 5, the owner of which would allow no one to enter lest the roses should be spoiled (Tosefoth), and who also gathered and sold some figs which grew in the garden, three or four for an *assar*, without paying tithe or bringing an offering from them.

[24] Baba Kama vii, 7.

[25] Kelim i, 8.

[26] Pesachim 67 *a*; Nazir 45 *a*; Sotah 20 *b*; Tosefta Kelim, 1.

[27] בועל נדה.

[28] Kelim i, 8; Tosefta Kelim, 1.

[29] Kelim i, 8.

[30] *Cf.* Yevamoth 7 *b*.

[31] Kelim i, 8. The Mishna enumerates four classes of persons who might be מחסרי כפורים, wanting atonement, viz., men or women with fluxes, women after childbirth, and lepers. R. Eleazer ben Jacob added two others (Kerithoth ii, 1).

unclean person who should enter there was liable to the penalty of cutting off.[32]

19. The court of the priests was more holy than *that of Israel*, because the laity might not enter there, except when it was necessary for them to do so to lay their hands on a sacrifice which was to be slain, or to make atonement, or to slay a sacrifice, or to wave a part of it.[33]

20. Between the porch and the altar was more holy than *the court of the priests*, because priests who had blemishes, or whose heads were bare,[34] or whose garments were torn might not enter there.

21. The Temple, הֵיכָל, was more holy than between the porch and the altar, because none might enter there who had not washed their hands and their feet.[35]

22. The Holy of Holies was more holy than *the rest of the Temple*, הַהֵיכָל, because none might enter there except the high priest on the Day of Atonement at the time of his service.[36]

23. To the place in the upper chamber which was over the Holy of Holies they did not enter except once in seven years to ascertain what repairs were required.[37] When the builders entered to build or make repairs in the Temple הֵיכָל, or to remove thence the uncleanness it was commanded that the persons entering should be perfect priests; if perfect priests could not be found, priests with blemishes might enter, and if there were no priests there, Levites might enter; if Levites could not be found, laymen might enter. The commandment is that they be ceremonially clean. If none in a state of purity could be found, unclean might enter. If the choice lay between an unclean person and a person with a blemish, he with a blemish entered, and not he that was unclean, for uncleanness unfits for service in the congregation.[38] And all who entered the Temple, הֵיכָל, to make repairs entered in boxes. If there were no boxes there, or if it was not possible for them to do the work in boxes, they entered by way of the doors.[39]

[32] Tosefta Kelim 1. There were thirty-six offences by which the penalty of cutting off was incurred (Kerithoth i, 1).

[33] Kelim i, 8.

[34] Kelim i, 9.

[35] Kelim i, 9.

[36] Kelim i, 9; Pesachim 86 *a*.

[37] Tosefta Kelim 1; Pesachim 86 *a*, where it is disputed whether these chambers were visited once in seven years (in the year of release, Rashi), or twice in seven years, or once in the *year of* Jubilee.

[38] Erubin 105; Tosefta Kelim 1; Yoma 6 *b*.

[39] Middoth iii, 5, where it is said that the workmen were let down from above into the Holy of Holies in boxes. In Tosefta Kelim 1, this rule appears to be applied to the holy place as well as the Holy of Holies (see note to the works of Maimonides, *in loc.*). "To make repairs," תקן, *aptare*, *preparare*, *stabilire*. The word sometimes corresponds to היטיב in Hebrew, and is used here in contradistinction to בנה, to build. Perhaps it should be rendered to "ornament."

CHAPTER VIII.

1. The guarding of the Sanctuary was an affirmative command, notwithstanding that there was no fear of enemies or robbers, for the guarding of it was only for its honour. A palace over which there is placed a guard is not like a palace over which there is no guard.

2. And this guarding was commanded for the whole night. And the watchers were the priests and Levites, as it is said "thou and thy sons with thee before the tabernacle of witness" (Num. xviii, 2), which is as if it were said "ye shall guard it," and lo, it is said "and ye shall keep the charge of the tabernacle of the congregation" (*ib.* xviii, 4); and it is said "but those that encamp before the tabernacle towards the east, *even* before the tabernacle of the congregation eastwards, *shall be* Moses, and Aaron, and his sons, keeping the charge of the Sanctuary" (*ib.* iii, 38).

3. And if they ceased guarding, they transgressed a negative command, as it is said, "and they shall keep the charge of the Sanctuary." And the import of the word, שמירה, *guarding*, is אזהרה, an admonition, so thou mayest learn that its guarding is an affirmative command, and the neglect of its guarding a negative command.[1]

4. The law of its guarding was that the priests should keep guard inside, and the Levites outside. And four and twenty guards watched it the whole night continually in four and twenty places; the priests in three places, and the Levites in one and twenty places.

5. And where did they watch? The priests watched in the house Abtinas, and in the house Nitzus, and in the house Moked. The house Abtinas and the house Nitzus were upper chambers built at the side of gates of the court, and the boys[2] watched there. The house Moked was arched, and it was a large room surrounded by stone benches, and the elders of the family whose turn of service was on that day[3] slept there and the keys of the court were in their charge.[4]

6. The priests who watched did not sleep in the priestly garments, but folded them up and put them opposite their heads, and put on their own garments, and they slept upon the ground, like all watchers in the courts of kings, who do not sleep upon beds.

7. If an accident happened to one of them, he went along the gallery which was under the surface of the court (because the hollow places which opened to the mountain of the house were not sanctified), bathed and returned, and sat beside his brethren the priests, until the gates were opened in the morning, when he went out and departed.

[1] According to a rule of Talmudical interpretation. *Cf.* Menachoth 36 *b*, Makoth 13 *b*, &c., שלא לבטל שמירת המקדש, not to intermit the guarding of the Sanctuary, is enumerated among the 365 negative precepts.

[2] Sons of the priests not yet thirteen years of age.

[3] The guard was divided into seven houses of fathers (families) according to the days of the week, one for each day (Bartenora in Tamid i, 1).

[4] Literally, in their hands.

8. And where did the Levites watch? At five gates of the mountain of the house, and at its four corners within, and at the four corners of the court outside (because it was forbidden to sit in the court), and at five gates of the court outside of the court, for lo, the priests watched at the gate Moked, and at the gate Nitzus. Lo, *these are* eighteen places.

9. And moreover they watched at the chamber of the offering, and at the chamber of the veil, and behind the house of atonement.

10. And they placed a prefect over all the guards who watched. He was called the man of the mountain of the house, and went round all night to every guard in turn, with lighted torches before him, and to every guard who was not standing, the man of the mountain of the house said "peace be upon thee." If it appeared that he slept, he beat him with his staff, and he had authority to burn his cloak, so that they said in Jerusalem "what is the voice in the court? It is the voice of the Levite being beaten and his garments burned, because he slept in his watch."

11. In the morning, shortly before daybreak,[5] the prefect of the Sanctuary came and knocked *at the door of the* house Moked, where the priests were, and they opened to him. He took the key and opened the little gate which was between the house Moked and the court, and entered from the house Moked to the court, and the priests entered behind him. There were two lighted torches in their hands, and they divided into two companies, one going towards the east, and one towards the west, and they searched, and traversed the whole of the court, until the two companies reached the place of the house of the pancake-maker. Having reached it, both companies said "Is it peace?" and they placed the maker of the pancakes to make the pancakes.

12. According to this order they did every night, except the night of the Sabbath, when they had no light in their hands, but searched by *the light of* the lanterns which were lighted here, on the eve of the Sabbath.[6]

[5] קודם שיעלה עמוד השחר סמוך לו, before the pillar of the morning rose *and* near to it. *Cf.* Genesis xxxii, 26, which in the Jerusalem Targum has שחרא ארום סליק עמוד for the column of the morning arises (Buxtorf.).

[6] For the contents of this chapter, consult Tamid i and Middoth i.

YOMA, OR THE DAY OF ATONEMENT.

With the Commentary of Rabbi Obadiah of Barttenora.

CHAPTER I.

1. Seven days before the day of atonement, they separated the high priest[1] from his house, to the chamber Palhedrin.[2] And they appointed another priest in his stead,[3] in case any defilement should happen to him. Rabbi Judah said "also they appointed for him another wife, in case his wife should die,"[4] as is said (Levit. xvi. 17), 'and have made an atonement for himself and for his household:' his household, that is, his wife." They said to him, "if so, there *would be* no end to the matter."

2. All the seven days, he sprinkled the blood,[5] and burned the incense, and dressed the lamps,[6] and offered the head and the leg. And on all

[1] Because all the services of the day of atonement were not lawful unless performed by him, as is said, in reference to the day of atonement (Levit. xvi, 32), "and the priest, whom ye shall anoint shall make an atonement." And this separation we infer from what is written (Levit. viii, 33), "the seven days of their consecration," and "ye shall not go out of the door of the tabernacle of the congregation *in* seven days," and what is written afterwards (v, 34) "as he hath done this day, *so* the Lord hath commanded to do, to make an atonement for you." And our rabbis have expounded "to do" as referring to the ceremonies connected with the red heifer (Numbers xix): and "to make an atonement for you," as referring to the day of atonement, because the priest who burnt the red heifer, and the priest who officiated on the day of atonement, were both of them obliged to be separated from their houses seven days, as Aaron and his sons were obliged during the seven days of their consecration.

[2] The king's officers were called *palhedrin*, and because the high priests of the second Temple, after Simeon the Just, gave money to serve in the high priesthood, and because they were wicked men, they did not complete their years, but were changed every twelve months, like the officers of the king, whom the king changes every year, therefore they called this chamber, the chamber *palhedrin*.

[3] They prepared another priest to be high priest in his stead if קרי, or other uncleanness, happened to him.

[4] If thou takest the question of death into consideration, there is no end of the matter; because this one also might die. But an uncleanness, which is of common occurence, we take into consideration, and therefore they appointed for him another priest: death, which is not of common occurrence (as death happening suddenly and instantaneously) we do not take into consideration, and therefore they did not appoint for him another wife. The decision was according to the wise men [not according to Rabbi Judah].

[5] Of the continual sacrifices, in order that he might be accustomed to the service.

[6] He cleansed them from the ashes of the wicks which were extinguished.

other days,[7] if he desired to make the offering, for the high priest had the preference with respect to the part he might wish to offer,[8] and the preference in taking a portion[9] *of the sacrifices for himself.*

3. They set apart for him elders of the elders of the house of judgment, who read before him[10] from the order of the day,[11] and they said to him, "my lord,[12] high priest, read thou for thyself, lest thou mays't have forgotten, or least thou hast not learned."[13] On the day preceding the day of atonement, at daybreak, they caused him to stand at the eastern gate, and caused to pass before him bulls, goats, and sheep, in order that he might become acquainted with and accustomed[14] to his service.

4. All the seven days they did not restrain him from eating and drinking, *but on* the eve of the day of atonement at dusk, they did not let him eat much,[15] because eating induces sleep.

5. The elders of the *beth-din*,[16] delivered him to the elders of the priesthood,[17] and they took him up to the upper chamber Beth Abtinas,[18] and imposed an oath upon him,[19] and departed and went their way. And

[7] If he desired to make the offering, he offered every offering that he pleased; nor had the men of the watch power to stay his hand.

[8] He had the right to offer any part that he chose.

[9] In the division of the holy things, he took the portion which he selected as the best. These words refer to the holy things of the altar (Sanctuary), but the holy things of the country, both the high priest and the ordinary priest divided equally.

[10] All the seven days.

[11] In the section *achare moth* (Levit. xvi).

[12] אדני=אישי, my lord.

[13] In the second Temple this was necessary, because at the command of the kings they appointed high priests who were not fitted for the office; but those of the first Temple did not appoint as high priest any one who was not distinguished amongst the priests for wisdom, for beauty, for strength, and for riches; and if he was not rich, his brethren the priests made him so from their own means, as is said (Levit. xxi, 10) "the high priest among his brethren:" they made him great, from what belonged to his brethren.

[14] They caused him to observe the beasts which passed before him in order to impress upon him the rules of the service of the day.

[15] Even of such kinds of food as do not produce heat; and they restrained him altogether from all food which might produce heat or defilement, קרי, such as milk, eggs, meat, oil, old wine, and the like.

[16] Who had read before him from the order of the day.

[17] To teach him how to fill his hands with the incense, as is said (Levit. xvi, 12) "and his hands full of sweet incense," which was a difficult part of the service.

[18] It was they who made the incense, and pounded it and mixed the gums.

[19] That he should not be a Sadducee to put the incense on the censer outside of the Temple and then to enter. For they [the Sadducees] explain "I will appear in the cloud upon the mercy seat" (*ib.* 2), that in a cloud of smoke of the incense he should come, and then appear upon the mercy seat. But the thing is not so, for the Scripture says (*ib.* 13) "and he shall put the incense upon the fire before the Lord."

they said to him, "my lord high priest, we are the delegates of the *beth-din*, and thou art our delegate, and the delegate of the *beth-din*, we adjure thee, by Him whose name dwelleth in this house, that thou change nothing of all that we have told thee." He retired and wept,[20] and they retired and wept.[21]

6. If he were a wise man, he expounded,[22] and if not, the disciples of the wise men expounded before him. If he were accustomed to read, he read; and if not, they read before him. And in what did they read before him? In Job, or Ezra,[23] or Chronicles. Zachariah ben Kabutal said, "many times I read before him in Daniel."

7. If he were inclined to fall asleep, the youths of the priesthood[24] struck before him with the forefinger,[25] and said to him, "my lord high priest, stand up,[26] and cool thyself a little upon the pavement," and they kept him occupied until the time for slaying *the morning sacrifice* arrived.

8. Every day they cleansed the altar[27] at cock-crow, or near it,[28] either before or after. And on the day of atonement after midnight,[29] and at the feasts after the first watch.[30] And cock-crow did not happen until the court was filled with people [*lit.*, Israel].[31]

[20] Because they had suspected him of being a Sadducee.

[21] Because they had suspected him, for Mar said, whoever suspects the righteous is to be beaten in his body.

[22] In things pertaining to the decisions of the law (הלכה); all the night of the day of atonement, so that he shall not sleep and defilement happen to him, and if he were a disciple, and not a wise man, and knew to hear and understand the law, but not to expound, they expounded before him.

[23] Because these attract the attention so that sleep did not overcome him.

[24] פרחי כהונה young men, the hair of whose beards was beginning to grow, were called פרחי, *pirchy* = young shoots, buds.

[25] באצבע צרדה, the finger nearest the thumb. The meaning of צרדא is צרתה דדה, "near to it" [Yoma 19 *b*], that is to say, near to the thumb which adjoins it. They joined the thumb and the finger next to it, and struck the palm of his hand and produced a sound, in order that he should not sleep.

[26] Upon thy feet and cool thyself a little upon the pavement of marble to take away the heat, for cooling the feet takes away sleep, and הפג has the signification of taking away, as מפיגין טעמן, "lessen or change its taste" (Pesachim 41 *a*).

[27] He took some of the ashes (תרומת, *cleansing*, is the same as taking away), either more or less, in the censer, and put them on the east of the ascent to the altar, and they were swallowed up there in their place [בדרך נס, miraculously]. This was the beginning of the morning service.

[28] Near cock-crow, either before or after.

[29] On account of the weakness of the high priest. Because upon him alone was imposed the whole service of the day, it was necessary to rise very early.

[30] The multitude of Israel, and the multitudes of offerings, and the great amount of ashes in the place of the pile and the necessity of taking up the ashes from the pile to the place in the middle of the altar which was called *tapuach* [an apple], in which place a great heap of ashes was collected and arranged like an apple, made it necessary to rise very early; and they rose after the first watch, which was the third part of the night.

[31] At the feasts, cock-crow did not come until the court was full of Israel bringing their offerings, to offer them immediately after the morning sacrifice.

CHAPTER II.

1. At first every priest who wished to remove the ashes from the altar,[1] did so; and when there were many,[2] they ran and ascended the incline,[3] and he who got before[4] his fellows, to within four cubits *of the top*, obtained the right to perform the service. If two were equal,[5] the warden said to them, "extend the fingers." And how? They extended one, or two.[6] And in the Sanctuary they did not extend the thumb.[7]

2. It once happened, that two of them being equal, ran and ascended the incline, and one of them pushed the other, so that he fell, and his leg was broken. And the *beth-din* saw that they came into danger *through this practice*, they ordained that they should not remove the ashes from

[1] Every priest who was of that house of the fathers and who wished to remove the ashes in the morning did so, and there was no lot cast in the matter.

[2] Of those who came to take away the ashes, this one said "I wish to take away the ashes," and the other said "I wish to take away the ashes." This was their custom. They ran and ascended the sloping ascent of the altar, which was thirty-two cubits long.

[3] He who was the first to get within the four upper cubits of the ascent, which were near the top of the altar, obtained the right to remove the ashes. This was their lot.

[4] In getting within [these four cubits] neither of them obtained the right, but now they all came and cast lots. And how was the lot cast? The prefect said to them all, "hold up your fingers" [*micate digitis*], that is to say, "put forth your fingers," and every one showed his finger. Because it was unlawful to count the men of Israel, therefore it was necessary for them to put forth the fingers, in order that the fingers, and not the men, might be counted. And how did they do it? They stood round in a circle, and the prefect came and took the cap from the head of one of them, and from this one the lot began to count. Each one extended his finger, and the prefect mentioned a number—a hundred, or sixty, some number much higher than the number of the priests present—and said, "he at whom this number finishes shall have the right [to perform this service]." And he now began to count from him, from whose head he had removed the cap, going round again and again, and counting the fingers until he came to the end of the number, and he at whom the number terminated obtained the office. And this was the manner of all the lots in the Sanctuary.

[5] One finger if he were a healthy man, and two if he were sickly. Because a sick person is not able to restrain his fingers, and when he extends one, that next to it comes out with it. But only one of the two was counted.

[6] Because of deceivers. For when the number came near finishing, and they could tell at whom it would finish, he who stood before him might put out two fingers in order that he might be counted as two persons, and thus the number might prematurely be completed at him. And the prefect might not perceive this, because a man can stretch the thumb to a great distance from the finger, so that they might appear like the fingers of two men, which it is impossible to do with the other fingers.

the altar except by lot.[7] Four lots were there,[8] and this was the first lot.

3. The second lot was, who should kill *the sacrifice*,[9] who should sprinkle the blood, who should take the ashes from the inner altar, who should take the ashes from the candlestick, who should take up the pieces of the *sacrifice* to the incline, the head and the leg,[10] and the two fore-legs, the end of the spine and the leg, the breast and the throat, and the two sides, and the inwards, and the fine flour, and the pancakes and the wine. Thirteen priests obtained it. The son of 'Azai said before Rabbi Akibah, in the name of Rabbi Joshua, "as the animal walked,[11] so it was offered."

[7] That [lot] which we have explained.

[8] Four times a day they were assembled to cast the lot. They did not cast the lots for all at one assembly, in order to make it heard four times that there were many people in the court. And this was for the honour of the king, as is said (Psalm lv, 14), "we walked into the house of God, ברגש, in tumult" [the tumult of a large assembly].

[9] Who should slay the daily sacrifice, who should sprinkle the blood, &c. All these offices were decided by one lot. He at whom the number terminated (as we have explained) obtained the right, and sprinkled the blood upon the altar after he had received it in the vessel for the purpose, for he who sprinkled the blood received the blood. The next priest to him killed the sacrifice, and this, notwithstanding that the slaying preceded the receiving of the blood, because the office of sprinkling was higher than that of slaying, for the slaying was lawful if done by a stranger, which was not the case with the sprinkling. For from the receiving of the blood and afterwards it is commanded that all the service be performed by priests. And hence he to whom the first lot fell obtained the office of sprinkling, and the next to him that of slaying, and the next to him who slew the lamb cleansed the altar from the ashes, and the next to him who cleansed the altar from the ashes, removed the ashes from the candlestick, and so with all.

[10] The head and right [hind] leg by the first priest; the two fore-legs by the second; the end of the spine (which is the tail) and the left [hind] leg by the third; the breast (that is the fat of the breast, the part looking towards the ground, which they divided on either side without the ends of the ribs) and the throat (the place where animals chew the cud, that is the neck, and joined to it the windpipe, with the liver and the heart), the breast and the throat by the fourth priest; and the two sides by the fifth priest; and the inwards by the sixth; and the fine flour, a tenth deal for the meat and drink-offering of the continual sacrifice (Exod. xxix, 40) by the seventh; and the pancakes, a half tenth deal for the meat-offering of the high priest, which he offered every day with the daily sacrifices, as is said (Levit. vi, 20), "half of it in the morning, and half thereof at night," by the eighth; and the wine, three logs for the drink-offering of the daily sacrifice, by the ninth. Thirteen priests obtained by this lot thirteen priestly functions, numbered to them according to the order stated in the Mishna.

[11] As it walked during its life the continual sacrifice was offered. The first doctor thought the good and comely parts were offered first, and Ben 'Azai thought it was offered as it walked; the head and the hind-leg, the breast and the throat, and the two fore-legs, and the two sides, the end of the spine and the (other) hind-leg. The decision was not according to Ben 'Azai.

4. The third lot *was* "those who have never offered the incense, come and cast lots."[12] And the fourth was for those who had, and those who had not before performed the function[13] *to decide* who should take up the pieces *of the sacrifice* from the incline to the altar.[14]

5. The continual sacrifice was offered[15] by nine *priests*, by ten, by eleven, by twelve, no less and no more. How? *The lamb* itself by nine.[16] At the Feast of Tabernacles,[17] the vessel of water *was brought* by the hand of one, making ten. In the evening[18] by eleven; the lamb itself by nine, and two with two pieces of wood in their hands. On a Sabbath by eleven; the lamb itself by nine; and two with two vessels of frankincense for the shew-bread in their hands. And on a Sabbath which occurred in the middle of the Feast of Tabernacles, a vessel of water, by the hand of one.

6. A ram was offered by eleven *priests;* the flesh by five,[19] the inwards, and the flour[20] and the wine by two *and* two.

7. A young bullock was offered by twenty-four *priests.* The head and the leg: the head by one, and the leg by two. The end of the spine and the leg: the end of the spine by two, and the leg by two. The breast and the throat: the breast by one, and the throat by three. The two fore-legs by two. The two sides by two. The inwards, the fine flour, and the

[12] Thus they cried out in the court. That is to say, he who has never yet obtained the office of offering the incense come and cast lots. And they did not allow one who had once obtained that office to repeat it, because it made rich, for it is written (Deut. xxxiii, 10, 11), "they shall put incense before thee" . . . . "bless, Lord, his substance," and because every priest who offered incense became rich and was blessed thereby, therefore they did not allow any one to do it a second time, in order that all might become rich and be blessed by it.

[13] "New and old." He who had obtained this lot on other occasions, and he who had never obtained it, come and cast lots.

[14] When they took the pieces from the slaying place they did not take them to the altar, but put them on the middle of the incline below on the east, and cast another lot who should take them up from the place where they had been placed on the incline to the altar; and they did so because "in the multitude of people is the king's honour" [Prov. xiv, 28].

[15] He reckons from the time of taking the pieces of the sacrifice and onward.

[16] Six for the pieces and the inwards, as we have said above, and one for the flour, one for the pancakes, and one for the wine.

[17] Because two drink-offerings were required, one of wine and one of water. The vessel of water was brought by the hand of a priest.

[18] The daily evening sacrifice. Two carried in their hands two pieces of wood to add to the wood of the pile, for it is written (Levit. i, 7), "and they shall lay the wood in order upon the fire." This does not refer to the morning sacrifice, for it is written in Levit. vi, 12, "and the priests shall burn wood on it every morning," which teaches that it refers to the evening sacrifice when two pieces of wood were added.

[19] As the pieces of a lamb, so the pieces of a ram.

[20] Two tenth deals were offered by two priests.

wine, by three *and* three. To what do these words apply ?[21] To offerings of the congregation. But an offering of an individual if he wished to offer it[22] *himself*, he might offer it. The skinning and eating up[23] of both the one and the other were alike.

CHAPTER III.

1. The prefect[1] said to them "go out and see[2] whether the time for slaying[3] *the sacrifice* has arrived." If it had arrived, *the priest who went out* to see, said "it lightens."[4] Matathiah ben Samuel said "it is becoming light along the whole east."[5] "As far as Hebron ?"[6] and he said "yes."

2. And why did they find this necessary ? Because it once happened that the light of the moon ascended, and they thought it was daybreak,[7] and slew the sacrifice and took it out to the place of burning. They conducted the high priest down to the bathing room.[8] This was a general rule in the Sanctuary : whoever "covered his feet "[9] was required to bathe his whole body *afterwards*, and whoever made water, was required to wash [*lit.* sanctify] his hands and his feet.

3. No man might enter the court for the service[10] even though clean,

[21] In reference to all these priests for one beast, and in reference to the lot.

[22] One priest might offer the whole and without casting a lot.

[23] The skinning and cutting up of the bullock offered by an individual, and that offered on behalf of the congregation were alike [שׁוין, equal] in that both were lawful by a stranger, and did not require a priest.

[1] He was the *sagan* (or vicar of the high priest).

[2] To a high place which they had in the Sanctuary.

[3] Because it was unlawful to slay the sacrifice by night, as it is said (Levit. xix, 6), "on the day ye offer it."

[4] It is becoming light and the morning breaks.

[5] This was after the lightening spoke of by the first doctor. The *halachah* was according to Matathiah ben Samuel.

[6] Those standing below asked him whether the light reached to Hebron, and he replied yes. They mentioned Hebron in order to call to mind the merits of the fathers.

[7] This is not said to have been on the day of atonement, for it is not possible for the light of the moon to ascend near the morning on the day of atonement, because that is at the third part of the month, but at the end of one of the months, when the moon rose near the rising of the morning, this mistake occurred ; and they were anxious lest on the day of atonement another mistake of the like kind might happen, and therefore considered all this necessary.

[8] This [that is said about the moon] is parenthetical, and now [the Mishna] returns to what we are taught above, "as far as Hebron ?" and he said "Yes." And after that the priest who went out to look said "yes," they conducted the high priest down to the bathing-room, because he was required to bathe before he slew the continual sacrifice.

[9] An euphemism for the *excrementa majora seu crassa.*

[10] Or for any other purpose.

until he had bathed.[11] On *this* day the high priest underwent in it five immersions and ten washings [*lit.* sanctifying], and was sanctified, and all of them *were* in the holy part of the Temple upon the house Parvah,[12] except this one only.[13]

4. They spread a linen cloth[14] between him and the people. He stripped, descended and immersed himself; came up and wiped himself.[15] They brought to him golden garments. He dressed and sanctified his hands and his feet.[16] They brought to him the lamb for the sacrifice, which he partly slaughtered,[17] and another[18] *priest* completed the slaughtering for him.[19] He received the blood and sprinkled it. He went in to offer the morning incense, and to dress the lamps, and to offer the head and the pieces, and the pancakes, and the wine.

5. The incense of the morning was offered between *the sprinkling of* the blood, and *the offering of* the pieces *of* the sacrifice ;[20] *that* of the evening between *the offering of* the pieces of the sacrifice, and *the pouring out of* the

[11] The matter is *à fortiori ;* for as the high priest changing from holy to holy, from service without [the Temple itself] to service within, and from service within to service without, was obliged to bathe between one service and another, much more as he now came from his house, which was profane, to the holy place, he was obliged to bathe.

[12] Upon the chamber of the house Parvah.

[13] The first, which was in the profane part of the temple, over the water gate beside his chamber.

[14] To keep in mind that the service of the day was performed in linen garments, because the high priest was accustomed to serve all the year in golden garments.

[15] Wiped clean.

[16] At the laver, because at every change of the garments of the day it was necessary to sanctify at taking them off, and again at putting them on, and this first bathing, which was on taking off the profane garments, did not require sanctifying of the hands and feet at the taking off.

[17] He cut the greater part of the two "signs" [the gullet and windpipe], which alone makes the slaughtering lawful.

[18] Another priest completed the slaughtering, because the receiving of the blood was not lawful except by the high priest, and it was necessary to hasten to receive it.

[19] על יד, "on his account," or, perhaps, by the hand of another near to him, as in Nehemiah iii, 8, על ידו החזיק, "next unto him repaired," &c.

[20] Not exactly so. For we are taught above [i, 2] "he received the blood and sprinkled it, *and* entered to offer the incense, and to dress the lamps, and to offer the head and the pieces," so that the incense was offered between the sprinkling of the blood and the dressing of the lamps, and not between the sprinkling of the blood and the offering of the pieces of the sacrifice. But the doctor is not now speaking of the order of the offerings, that this one was after that, and so on, but he only desires to say that the sprinkling of the blood and the offering of the pieces did not immediately follow the one after the other, for the incense came between them, and also the dressing of the lamps was between them, after the incense, *and* before the offering of the pieces.

drink-offerings. If the high priest was old or weak,[21] they prepared for him hot water,[22] and put it[23] into the cold *water*, in order to take away[24] its coldness.

6. They led him to the house of Parvah,[25] which was in the holy part *of the Temple*,[26] *and* spread a linen cloth between him and the people. He sanctified [washed] his hands and his feet, *and* stripped. Rabbi Meyer said he *first* stripped, *and then* sanctified his hands and his feet.[27] He went down *into the bath* and immersed himself, came up, and wiped. They brought to him white garments,[28] he dressed and sanctified his hands and his feet.

7. In the morning he put on garments of Pelusium[29] manufacture, of the value of twelve *manim*, and in the evening Indian[30] garments, of the value of eight hundred *zuzim*. The words of Rabbi Meyer. And the wise men said "in the morning he put on *garments* worth eighteen *manim*, and in the evening[31] worth twelve *manim*;[32] the whole of these thirty *manim* were the property of the community, and if he wished to add to them, he added from those belonging to himself.[33]

8. He came now to his bullock; and his bullock stood between the porch and the altar,[34] its head to the south and its face to the

[21] So that his body was cold and frigid.

[22] On the eve of the day of atonement.

[23] On the day of atonement they put it into the pit built in his bathing-room.

[24] To take away its coldness somewhat. שתפיג is like מפיגין טעמן, "they change or lose their taste" [Pesachim 41 *a*].

[25] A certain magician, whose name was Parvah, built it, and it was called after his name.

[26] Because this second immersion, with all the other immersions, except the first, must be in a holy place, as it is written (Levit. xvi, 24), "and he shall wash his flesh with water in the holy place."

[27] R. Meyer said, he stripped first and afterwards sanctified. The decision was not according to Rabbi Meyer.

[28] The shirt, the breeches, the girdle, and the turban, which are mentioned in Leviticus xvi, 4, for all the services which were within were performed in them, but the services which were without (as the continual sacrifices and the additional sacrifices) were in golden garments, in which he ministered the whole year. And between each change of garments immersion and two sanctifyings of the hands and feet at the laver were required.

[29] Fine and beautiful linen brought from the land of Ramses. In the Targum Yerushalmy Ramses is Pelusa [Pelusium].

[30] From the land Hodo [India].

[31] Those which he put on to bring out the kaf and the censer.

[32] He here repeats the aggregate value, and teaches us to understand that thirty *manim* were the sum of the whole; to tell thee that it was of no consequence if he diminished from those of the morning, and added to those of the evening [provided the whole was thirty *manim*].

[33] Only he must give those added as a gift to the Sanctuary.

[34] By law all the northern part of the court was fit for the bullock to stand in, for it was all "before the Lord." And they did not place the bullock between

west.[35] And the priest stood on the east, with his face to the west,[36] and laid his two hands upon it and confessed. And thus he said: O God! I have done wrong, I have transgressed, I have sinned before Thee, I and my house. Forgive now, O God, the wrong and the transgression and the sins which I have done, and transgressed and sinned before Thee, I and my house, according as it is written in the law of Moses, thy servant (Levit. xvi, 30), "for on that day shall *the priest* made an atonement for you," &c., and they repeated after him, "blessed be the glorious Name of His kingdom for ever and ever."

9. He now came to the east of the court,[37] to the north of the altar, the sagan *being* on his right hand and the chief of the house of the fathers on his left. And two goats were there, also a box,[38] in which were two lots of boxwood;[39] Ben Gamla[40] made them of gold, and they were accustomed to commemorate him with praise.

10. Ben Katin[41] made twelve cocks[42] to the laver, there having *before* been only two, and also he made a machine[43] for the laver, that its water might not become defiled by remaining all night. Monbaz, the king, made all the handles of the vessels of the day of atonement of gold. Helena, his mother, made a golden lantern[44] for the door of the Temple, also she made a golden tablet upon which was written the section of the law

the porch and the altar near to the Temple, but on account of the weakness of the high priest, that he should not be oppressed by the burden of carrying the vessel for sprinkling the blood to a distance.

[35] It was ordained by the law that its head should be towards the temple, which was on the west, and its hinder part towards the altar; but lest it should drop its dung, and because it was a shame that its hinder part, בית הרעי, should look to the side of the altar, its head was put towards the south and its tail towards the north, which was very suitable, and the middle of its body between the porch and the altar, and its head was turned until its face was towards the west.

[36] And his back to the east.

[37] Because they did not take the goats in to between the porch and the altar when it was wished to put the lots upon them, but they remained in the court till the time of slaying.

[38] A perforated vessel of wood.

[39] Buso [buxus] in Latin, a kind of wood. This is only a supposition.

[40] Joshua ben Gamla, when he was chosen to be high priest, made them of gold.

[41] He was a high priest.

[42] In order that the twelve priests to whom the lots had fallen to perform the continual sacrifice of the morning might sanctify all at one time, and notwithstanding that there were thirteen priests engaged in this service, as we have said in Chapter II, no cock was made for the slayer of the sacrifice, because the slaying was lawful by a stranger.

[43] A wheel to immerse it in the cistern [or well] that its waters might be mingled in the cistern and not become defiled by remaining all night [in a sacred vessel].

[44] Or candlestick [*candelabrum*].

referring to a suspected wife[45] [Numbers v, 12]. To the doors of Nicanor[46] there happened miracles.[47] And him they commemorated with praise.

11. And these were commemorated with shame: the family of Garmu, *who* were unwilling to teach the way of making the shewbread;[48] the family of Abtinas, who were unwilling to teach the manner of making the incense;[49] Hagros ben Levi, *who* knew a portion of song[50] and would not teach it; Ben Kamtsar *who* was unwilling to teach his method of writing.[51] In reference to the former,[52] it was said "the memory of the just is blessed," and in reference to the latter[53] "the name of the wicked shall rot."

[45] That it might not be necessary to bring [the roll of] the law, to write from it the section referring to a suspected wife.

[46] The name of a man.

[47] He went to Alexandria of Egypt to bring the doors. On his return there arose a great storm at sea, which threatened to sink them. They took one of the doors and threw it into the sea, in order to lighten the ship, and when they sought to throw overboard the other, he said to them, "throw me with it," and immediately the sea ceased its raging. When they arrived at the port of Acca the door which had been thrown overboard came out from under the side of the ship.

[48] The other workmen did not know how to take it from the oven without breaking it, because it was made like a kind of open box.

[49] They knew a certain herb whose name was "the ascending of smoke," and when they mixed it with the aromatics of which the incense was composed, the smoke of the incense formed a column and ascended in the form of a staff without bending to one side or the other.

[50] An agreeable modulation of the voice.

[51] He bound four pens to four of his fingers, and wrote the *nomen tetragrammeton* as if it were of one letter.

[52] Ben Gamla, Ben Katin, Monbaz, and Helena his mother, and Nicanor.

[53] The family of Garmu, and the family of Abtinas, Hagros ben Levi, and Ben Kamtsar. And although the family of Garmu and the family of Abtinas explained their words, "that they did not wish to teach," to mean that they would not teach a person who was not honest and might go andpractise idolatry thereby; the wise men did not accept their words.

THE CITY OF DAVID.

(*Continued.*)

I. Zion, South and not West of the Temple.

In his Handbook Captain Conder places "Acra or Millo" and the "Tomb of David" further west than Sir Charles Warren's site, and (p. 333) has "little hesitation in identifying that hill (Acra) with the knoll of the present Sepulchre Church." He concludes that the term, the City of David, was applied to this part because (as he urges) Millo was in the City of David, and Millo is rendered by *Acra* in the LXX, and next because Josephus (p. 338) seems by Millo to understand the Lower City ("Ant.," VII, iii, 2), which he identifies with Acra ("Wars," V, vi, 1); and, as already stated, Captain Conder takes Josephus to place his Acra west of the Temple. It will be seen that the argument is this: Where Acra was, there was also the City of David. But it has been proved above that Acra was *south*, not west, of the Temple. Therefore the City of David was not on Captain Conder's site, near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

Another point may be noticed. As Captain Conder is ready to identify the Acra of the LXX with the Acra of Josephus, and the Lower City in the "Antiquities" with the Acra in the "Wars," he cannot fairly refuse to identify the Lower City and the Acra of the "Antiquities" with the Lower City and Acra of the "Wars," while the expression in "Ant.," XII, v, 4, he "built the Acra in the Lower City," shows that sometimes the Acra only means a part of the latter. Now in "Ant.," VII, iii, 1, Josephus says that David *took first the lower city and next the Acra*, and so captured the whole of Jerusalem. Now it is obvious that the *Upper* City on the south-western hill could not be either the *Lower* City or the Acra within it. Therefore, according to the "Antiquities," the Upper City was not the City of David.

Accordingly, when Captain Conder ("Handbook," 336) wants to show that the Upper City was Zion, or the City of David, he appeals to 'Wars," V, iv, 1, where Josephus says that the Upper City was called φρούριον (the citadel) by David, evidently as equivalent to "the fort" (Heb. Metzad) of Zion, which was afterwards called the City of David (2 Sam. v, 7).

Josephus wrote the "Antiquities" after the "Wars," and was of course at liberty to correct his own mistakes as far as he could. Since then, in his later and fuller account, Josephus speaks of David taking the Lower City and the Acra, and after the expulsion of the Jebusites from the Acra, of his rebuilding Jerusalem and calling it the City of David, it is obvious that the casual remark in the "Wars" is set aside as worthless by Josephus himself. After this exposure I hope no one will maintain that the abandoned statement of "Wars," V, iv, 1, proves that the Upper City was ever the stronghold of Zion, or the site of the City of David. For myself I decline to depend on the conjecture in the "Wars"

or the paraphrase in the "Antiquities," as one can go directly to 2 Sam. v, where the Biblical account says nothing whatever about an *Upper* or *Lower* City, but simply mentions the fort of Zion.

Thrupp (Jerusalem, 56) thinks that Acra in "Ant.," VII, iii, 1, may and does mean the Upper City because (1) the Acra in that passage is "not to be identified with the Lower City, the Acra of later times," and (2) because Josephus in "Ant.," XII, x, 4, speaks of an Acra which Thrupp takes to have been in the Upper City.

The answer to (1) is, that the later Acra (as already pointed out) sometimes means only a part of the Lower City, and therefore, in "Ant.," VII, both the Acra and Lower City, without being identical, may be named, just as both are mentioned in "Ant.," XII, v, 4; and to (2) that the passage in Josephus is corrupt, and that a reference to the parallel account in 1 Macc. vii, 32, shows that the Acra named was not in the Upper City, but was the one commonly so called.

Further, in attempting to prove that the Acra of Josephus was west of the Temple, Captain Conder shows but little respect for the statements of his great authority.

In "Wars," V, iv, 1, 2, Josephus says, "Over against this (Acra) there was a *third* hill (obviously the Temple hill), but naturally lower than Acra, and formerly parted from it by another *broad* valley. . . . The Hasmoneans filled up the valley, wishing to join the City to the Temple; and they levelled the summit of Acra and reduced its elevation in order that the Temple might be seen above it in this direction, . . . a *fourth* hill which is called Bezetha (*i.e.*, the new city)."

Compare with this Captain Conder's statements. He says ("Handbook," 332, 3) the "*third* hill was covered by the new city," (!) or Bezetha. The third hill (Bezetha !) was separated from Acra by a *deep* valley afterwards filled up by the Hasmoneans. But if they had wished to join the city (Acra) to the Temple, why should they have filled up the valley between Acra and a different hill, Bezetha, north of the Temple (333)? And, lastly, Captain Conder tells us that his Acra (contrary to the statement of Josephus) is still *above* (instead of lower than) the highest point on the Temple ridge.

Sir Charles Warren's site at any rate satisfies this requirement, and so, of course, does the true site for Acra south of the Temple.

It is one thing for Josephus to have made a mistake about a height being lowered and a valley filled up two hundred years before his day, when in his time neither existed to be seen; and quite a different thing for him not to have known which of two hills was the higher, when he had probably observed both of them daily during the siege. It seems to me, however, that Josephus may have meant that the *Upper City* was joined to the Temple in the line of Wilson's Arch.

Having thus cleared of all obstructions the ground north of the Upper City, the way is now open for me to attack the traditional site.

II. Zion not on the South-Western Hill.

The defenders of the Upper City are many and mighty. They are further agreed that their site is the true one, but hopelessly at variance as to the way of proving it. Nehemiah ii, iii, and xii is to them a crucial test.

One (Mr. Tenz) thinks that the words (*supra* 122) "from the dung gate to the fountain gate" give an order from east to west; another (Captain Conder) from west to east; another changes his mind within ten pages ("Murray's Handbook," 172, 181); another protests against thinking about it at all. He writes to me: "I won't consider it any longer, as I nearly went off my head a dozen years ago over it. Of all the subjects I know, there is none more bewildering. I cannot understand how Sion can be anywhere but on the western (*i.e.*, S.W.) hill, and yet your arguments are very strong."

Mr. Tenz, the constructor of a most interesting model of Jerusalem, objects to the Ophel site on page 121 above, and thus defends the traditional one :—

1. He both says he "may justify the remarks made by Captain Conder against the Ophel site" (*Quarterly Statement*, 1883, p. 194), and adds that Josephus "is yet the most reliable authority." Captain Conder there asks, "If David and Solomon did not build a wall round the Upper City, why does Josephus say ('Wars,' V, iv, 1) that *the old wall built by David and Solomon began on the north at Hippicus?* Is this another false statement, or is Hippicus on the Temple spur, and is the Upper City *post* Herodian. And if they did, why should the 'City of David' be applied to a hill which was only walled in by later kings?" I have no objection to the idea that David and Solomon had to do with the wall here spoken of. I would, however, point out that while Captain Conder says Ophel "was only walled in by the *later* kings," Josephus himself in this passage says that the old wall built by David and Solomon and the later kings not only began at Hippicus, but also "had a *bend above Siloam, reached to Solomon's pool and Ophlas, and ended at the eastern cloister of the Temple.*" Thus, according to Josephus, David and Solomon had as much to do with the wall in Ophel as that on the hill of the Upper City, and so Captain Conder's notion about the later kings is wrong. Surely Mr. Tenz, as an admirer of Josephus, ought to have justified him and me and not deserted both of us for Captain Conder.

2. Next, he thinks that the towers, bulwarks, palaces in Psalms xlviii were too many to have been on Ophel, and that therefore Zion must mean the Upper City. The question, however, is not what Zion or Mount Zion may mean in the Psalms (where they sometimes seem to be equivalent to Jerusalem), but what in *historical* passages is meant by *Zion* and the *City of David*. (*Quarterly Statement*, 1881, p. 94.)

3. He thinks the Upper City must have been Zion, because the valley of Hinnom went up on the south side of it. I have shown, however, that the Tyropœon was the valley of Hinnom, and as it is not south of the

Upper City, this very argument shows that the Upper City was not the stronghold of Jebus, *i.e.*, Zion.

4. He thinks Nehemiah went out near the Virgin's Fount, by the valley (*ge*) gate leading to the brook (*nachal*) Kidron, and that when he went up by the brook (*nachal*), he went up *his* (Mr. Tenz's) valley (*ge*) of Hinnom. Here once more *ge* and *nachal* (see 101 *supra*) are confused, and so a hopeless chaos ensues, as will be seen in the next point.

5. By placing the valley gate near the Virgin's Fount, and David's tomb at or near the present traditional site, it will be seen on reference to Nehemiah iii, and xii, 31-40, that Mr. Tenz sends one procession almost round Jerusalem, first south, then west, next north, afterwards east, and finally south, until Ophel and the Horse Gate are passed in the *wrong* order, a distance of about 10,000 feet, and the other party only march a ridiculously short distance, about 500 feet, and into this short distance he has further to cram the sheep gate, the fish gate, the old gate, the Ephraim gate, and the valley gate—five gates in about five hundred feet, which is of course absurd, but inevitable with his theory.

The argument from military considerations, too hastily supposed to show that Zion was the Upper City, really points to a contrary conclusion. It is said that as the south-western hill was by nature the strongest position, it must have been chosen for the site of the fort of Zion. But when Antiochus Epiphanes had the whole of Jerusalem in his possession, fortifying the Upper City is just what he did *not* do. He deliberately (1 Macc. i, 33) placed his garrison in the City of David, in the Acra, in the Lower City, where it held its own for twenty-six years, and was at last only reduced by famine. It is clear that what was taken to be the best position by Antiochus might well have been chosen by others before him.

I have shown above how Captain Conder's defence of the Upper City fails, but I must also show how his attack on my Ophel site ends in smoke. He does not admit with Sir Charles Warren that Nehemiah actually places the stairs of the City of David, and the Sepulchres of David, and the House of David, on Ophel, and so is put to great straits in order to avoid this concession.

(*a*) He draws ("Handbook," p. 345) the stairs either on the side of the Upper City or up the Tyropœon, though the natural course for the procession at the dedication of the wall would be as at other points, along the wall, which confessedly was on Ophel.

(*b*) He admits that the sepulchres of David are placed by Nehemiah on Ophel, but pleads that the expression means the sepulchres of (some of) the sons (or descendants) of David who were not buried in the City of David.

(*c*) He also admits that "the House of David" is placed by Nehemiah (xii, 37) on Ophel, but contends that the expression means the sepulchre, &c., as in (*b*).

This is certainly using the *lucus a non lucendo* principle with a

vengeance. But a new idea! Why not argue that the tomb was Saul's and that "the House of David" simply means "the tomb of the *father-in-law* (!) of David. For was not Saul buried in Zelah? and by some, I believe, "Zelah, Eleph" has been connected (*Quarterly Statement*, 1881, p. 147) with the eastern hill at Jerusalem.

I now claim to have disposed of the myth that the Upper City was Zion. Jerome seems to have been the publisher of this greatest work of fiction ever produced, for it has had a run of fifteen centuries, and is still in demand. It has not only imposed too long on unsuspicious folk, like myself, of cramped imagination, but it has also bewitched the writer of an impossible story whom I used to think too shrewd ever to mistake such fiction for fact. A few perhaps will be thankful for the dispelling of this patriotic concoction; most, however, will probably choose to believe an error rather than weary themselves in investigating the truth.

If any one wishes to defend either of the pseudo-Zions that I claim to have annihilated, let him do so.

"Vive, vale. Si quid novisti rectius istis
Candidus imperti; si non his utere mecum."

W. F. Birch.

THE DEAD SEA.

Some observations which seemed to point to one conclusion claiming my interest in the autumn of 1854, when I was twice at the southern end of the Dead Sea for the purposes of my Art, have since remained in my mind as indications of peculiar features in its geological formation, and as I have never met with references to them, I will now beg your permission to invite the attention of Mr. Hull, or of any future investigator of the district, in order to have the truth on the point raised satisfactorily explained.

I will tell the facts as they came to my notice. My first journey to the district was made from Jerusalem with Mr. W. Beamont, of Warrington, who wrote a very interesting diary of his visit to the Holy Land, entitled "Journey in the East." A third friend was his son, the Rev. W. J. Beamont, of Trinity College, Cambridge, since deceased. We arrived and pitched our tent on the plain amid the trees, which, as the lake widens two miles or so northward of Usdûm, are thick and about 20 feet or more in height. As there was still enough daylight remaining, we set off to the border of the sea for a bathe. On approaching the coast it was noticeable that the trees on the north-eastern curve of the bay stood closer to the margin of the water than they could have been when first they emerged from the soil, and that into the water itself the whole of the once living forest of tamarisks, junipers, acacias, &c., descended, leafless, dead, and stark. But although the engulfment had

been gradual, and probably the work of some seasons, the trees furthest away from the shore were still with branches unbroken, and even with stems and upper twigs intact until the depth hid them. It was a sight with immediate caution to the swimmer, and we took the hint to go two or three hundred yards more to the north. None of us had bathed before in the waters.

I think we were all good swimmers, but when I dashed in and threw myself forward to get out of my depth, there was enough to do without observing my friends. The unusual degree of buoyancy in the briny liquid threw me off my balance, the salt stung my eyes, ears, and every abrasion on my skin, and I could scarcely tell in what direction I was striking out until I found myself carried by a current into a mass of stiff boughs of trees far off from and still deeper engulfed than those visible from the land.

Making allowance for decrease of height from the carrying away by the waters of the upper twigs, the depth here to the bottom on which the trees stood must have been about 25 feet. The land had therefore sunk thus much since the trees were flourishing. So far, the fact was not for the neighbourhood a startling one. It was an encroachment of the sea on the land by the sinking of the latter.

Two months later I came to the same neighbourhood again to paint at the spot chosen for my landscape, which was two miles more to the south than the point where we had bathed. This time, for considerations of health, and being without friends with independent interests, I encamped under the castle built on the high crag between the divided torrent bed in the Wâdy Zuarahtahta. Before sunrise each morning I started with one Arab, Suleiman, to cross the plain to the shore of the narrowest part of the sea. It was in a line drawn from the mouth of the wâdy to the north-eastern base of Usdûm, only deflected slightly at this spot to escape the irregularities near the foot of the mount as it passed on somewhat more southwardly to the margin of the lake.

Varying our path to some degree one morning, my attention, about midway between the wâdy and the mount, was arrested by a circular opening in the earth, 7 or 8 feet in diameter. It was clearly not a well, its position forbade such idea ; but what would in any case have made this evident was that the aperture was not vertical, but oblique, sloping from north-west to south-east. The perforation was so clearly made that the layers of the alluvial soil, some of larger and some of smaller pebbles, were clearly defined in the sectional surface of the circumference. I asked Suleiman what this aperture was. He answered unhesitatingly that it had been caused by a falling star, and after the raw suspicion that he spoke thus with the ordinary love of the marvellous for matters beyond Arab ken, I saw that no other theory could amount for the conditions of the case. Time was too precious for me then to linger long, but on closer scrutiny on that occasion, and on subsequent mornings, I observed that the perforated earth was only a crust of upheaved sand of about 10 feet or so in thickness, and that below in all directions was a hollow

cave about 20 feet in depth without water at the bottom, where I could see the *débris* of the pierced alluvial crust. Unfortunately, my task was too difficult a one to allow me to spare the time for descending into the pit, and thus I could not investigate it except from above; but what I saw of the cavity suggested that the whole plain, having been formed by alluvial washings, had been raised from the bed below by volcanic force; that it remained thus while underwood and trees grew upon it; that it probably was impervious to the water of the Salt Sea, but that the weight of this was gradually pressing it with its growth down, as I had found was already done at the spot where my friends and I bathed two miles or so further north.

When I left the neighbourhood I had the intention of returning there to paint more of the extraordinary and grand scenery of the Dead Sea, but the Art world are slow to exhibit interest in what is not "stale as chimes to dwellers in the market place," and therefore I have never since found myself near enough to the beach of Usdûm to make further investigations into the facts given above. It will be a great satisfaction to me now if some one competent to determine their true significance and value will direct his attention to them.

London, June 1st, 1885.

HOLMAN HUNT.